A STUDENTS' HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDIA

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PREFACE

The object of this book is to narrate, in broad outline, the main educational developments in India during the modern period of its history which begins by about 1765. The first edition of this book dealt with the historical development only till the attainment of Independence in 1945. This revised edition brings the story to the end of the Third Five Year Plan and also indicates the broad lines on which educational reconstruction would have to be attempted during the next fifteen years.

The book does not attempt to trace the history of individual movements such as the Arya Samaj movement among the Hindus, or the Aligarh movement among the Muslims. It does not also deal with the history of education in each individual Province or in Indian States. But subject to these limitations, it attempts to give a full and comprehensive review of each critical stage in the modern educational history of India, to explain the *raison d'etre* of each important decision and the consequences thereof, and to show how the present educational system has gradually come to be built up. The review is so designed as to assist, not only in understanding the present, but also in pointing out the main lines of future reform and reorganisation.

One special feature of this study may be pointed out here. The reader will notice that the book is interspersed with a large number of quotations. These have been included for several reasons. Some are included because their original sources are now out of print and inaccessible to the average student ; some others are included with a view to introducing the reader to the vast amount of literature in original documents that is available on the subject ; but many have been included because they help to portray vividly the conflicts of a bygone day and the ideals that inspired the fighters on either side. For, in an historical drama of this type, it is always a great advantage to give full freedom to the actors to speak for themselves.

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*The Publishers regret to announce the sad demise of Shri Syed Nurullah at New Delhi on 27th November, 1963. The revision of the manuscript was, however, completed during his life-time.

INTRODUCTION

THE history of the evolution of the modern system of education in India may be likened to a great drama.

The *setting* for this play is provided, not only by the social, political, and constitutional history of India, but also by the social, political, and educational developments in contemporary England. Several Indian institutions were planned on similar institutions in England; often the controversies in Indian education arose from contemporary controversies in English education; and oftener still, a change in the educational policy of England had its echoes in Indian education, sooner or later. An attempt to understand Indian educational policy apart from this background is like trying to understand an effect without knowing the cause. An effort has, therefore, been made in this book to present this setting as clearly as possible and to correlate it to the various stages of the educational advance of India.

The *conflict* of the drama lies in the struggle between the Old and the New, between the effort—however well-intentioned it might have been—by non-Indians to impose a cheap imitation of the British educational system on India and the desire of the people of the country to create a new system to meet their own peculiar needs and problems. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the indigenous system of education held the field. Soon afterwards missionaries began to spread Western knowledge and to encourage the study of the English language and literature. They were joined by the Officials of Government and a few enlightened Indians who were either educated under the new system or valued its advantages, and between the combined efforts of these three sets of workers, the modern educational system saw the light of day. It thrived quickly for several reasons: To begin with, the British people of the Victorian era complacently believed that their language, literature, and educational methods were the best in the world and that India could do no better than adopt them *in toto*. *Secondly*, the Indians of this period, on their part, were dazzled by their first contact with Western civilization and believed that their country could do no better than imitate the British model; and *thirdly*, the system attained an artificial popularity and importance because the

young men and women educated under it were freely employed in Government service. By the end of the nineteenth century, therefore, the old indigenous system of education disappeared almost completely from the field and a new system of education, which aimed at the spread of Western knowledge through the medium of the English language, was firmly established in its place.

But a reaction soon set in. The sudden and great rise of other nations, such as Japan, exercised a profound influence on Indian public opinion, especially after the termination of the Russo-Japanese War, and made people look askance at the slow and unsatisfactory development of Indian education; a new spirit was gaining ground and, unlike the men of the earlier era, the Indians of the twentieth century began to study with reverence the cultural history of their own land; the Great War of 1914-18 revealed to the world that there was something radically wrong with the civilization of the West and made people sceptical about the utility of the wholesale imitation of Western models. The net result was that Indians gave up the attempt to imitate England *in toto*, and began to consider the creation of a new system of education more suited to their needs. Some of their attempts, such as the Visva-Bharati, or the Jamia-Millia, worked outside the official system, while others, like the Banaras and Aligarh Universities, worked within it. A characteristic common to both, however, was the desire to *create* rather than to *imitate*.

An attempt has been made in this book to show the various aspects of this conflict and to trace its history.

The *actors* in this drama may be divided into three groups—the missionaries, the European Officials of the Education Department and the Indian people. To the missionaries belongs the honour of being pioneers in the modern educational system of India and even today they are doing some pioneer work in several branches of social service that have not yet attracted Indian workers on a sufficiently large scale. The European Officials of the Education Department came upon the scene in 1855 and dominated the whole educational field until very recently. The Indian people themselves were the last to enter the stage. They began, in the early nineteenth century, by collecting funds for the establishment of "modern" educational institutions, and, later on, undertook to direct and conduct them. In the closing

decades of the nineteenth century, they demanded Indianization of the educational services. But the political outlook soon widened and the demand for the power to control and direct educational policies was next put forward—a demand that was partly fulfilled in 1921, more completely in 1937 and absolutely in 1947. At the present moment, the whole field of educational activity is almost Indianized. The missionary societies are transferring their institutions to Indian Christians; the recruitment to the Indian Educational Service was stopped a long time ago and all the Officials of the Education Department are now Indians; the bulk of the educational institutions is controlled by private Indian enterprise; and a National Government at Centre with autonomous ministries in the federating States have the power to lay down the policy of educational advance. The story of this great revolution forms an important part of the history of Indian education as presented in this book.

The drama is divided into six Acts.

The *first* Act of the drama opens about the beginning of the eighteenth century and closes with the Charter Act of 1813. Although the East India Company was established as early as in 1600, it undertook no educational activities for nearly one hundred years of its existence. Its attention was first drawn to educational matters by the Charter Act of 1698 which required it to maintain priests and schools in its garrisons; but even these provisions were meant more for the children of the Company's European servants than for the Indian people. There is no need, however, to be surprised at this unwillingness of the Company to undertake the responsibility of educating Indians. It was mainly a trading concern and a body of merchants cannot be expected to educate the people it trades with.

Circumstances altered considerably by the middle of the eighteenth century. The Company had, by this time, emerged successful from the struggle with its European competitors—the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French—and the grant of the *Diwani* in 1765 made it a ruling power in India. It was only *then* that the Company was called upon to encourage education among its subjects as the earlier Hindu and Muslim rulers had done. But the Court of Directors naturally drew their inspiration from English models rather than from Hindu or Muslim traditions and, as Parliament itself did nothing to educate the English

people, the Company also refused to recognise any obligation on its part for the education of Indians.

The conflict of this Act, therefore, centred mainly round two issues. *Firstly*, there was a conflict between the unwillingness of the Directors of the Company to accept responsibility for the education of the Indians, and the agitation of their officers in India, mainly on grounds of political exigency, to persuade them to accept it. *Secondly*, there also arose a conflict between the desire of the missionaries to go to India to spread Christianity and the unwillingness of the Court of Directors to admit them to their territories for fear that their proselytizing activities might arouse the opposition of the people. It was only after a prolonged agitation that the Company was compelled, by the Charter Act of 1813, to accept responsibility for the education of Indians, to incur some expenditure for the fulfilment of this object, and to admit missionaries to its dominions for spreading Western "light and knowledge". This was the beginning of the State system of education in India under the British rule.

The *second* Act of the drama opens in 1813 and closes with Wood's Education Despatch of 1854. It is mainly a period of controversies and experiments.

The conflict of this Act lies between two schools of thought. One of these, which was represented by Macaulay, believed in the *substitution* of Western culture for the Indian and desired to create a class of persons who would be "Indians in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect". This school consisted mostly of the missionaries whose main aim was that of proselytization, and of the younger servants of the Company who were brought up in the traditions of the Romantic Revival and were consequently impatient to sweep out the Old and to sweep in the New. The other school believed in a *synthesis* of the Eastern and Western cultures. It consisted of the older servants of the Company who were brought up in the traditions of Hastings and Minto and most of the Indians who took an interest in education. Unfortunately, this party was divided within its own fold. One section, which held the field in Bengal, believed that such a synthesis could be brought about by spreading Western science and knowledge through the medium of Indian classical languages, while the other section which held the field in Bombay, believed that the best method

of bringing about a synthesis lay in spreading Western science and knowledge through the spoken languages of the people, enriched by a study of the Indian classical languages.

These fundamental issues were greatly confused in the controversies of this period and "the confusion became worse confounded by the failure to distinguish English as a medium from English as a subject of instruction". Violent controversies, therefore, ranged round the following four topics :—

(1) What should be the *object* of the educational policy —to spread Western knowledge or to preserve Eastern learning?

(2) What should be the *medium of instruction*—English, Sanskrit or Arabic, or the modern Indian languages?

(3) What should be the *agency* for the spread of education—the mission schools, the institutions directly controlled by the Company, or the indigenous schools conducted by Indians themselves?

(4) What should be the *method* of spreading education—should Government try to educate the masses directly, *or* should it only educate a few Indians and leave it to them to educate the others?

The Despatch of 1854 set these conflicts at rest for the time being by declaring that the main object of the educational system was to spread Western knowledge and science, although it was desirable to grant some encouragement to Oriental learning at the collegiate stage; that both English and the spoken languages of the people should be used as media of instruction at the secondary stage; that as Government could never have the funds to provide for all the educational needs of the country, the bulk of its educational institutions would have to be organized by private bodies—whether missionary or Indian; and that the efforts of Government should cease to be directed to the education of the few and that the education of the masses should, in future, be regarded as a duty of the State. With the receipt of this important document of educational history, the curtain falls upon the second Act of the drama.

The *third* Act opens in 1854 and closes about 1900. It is a period of rapid *Westernization* of the educational system but of *Indianization* of its agency.

This Act has two conflicts. The major conflict arose between the indigenous system of education on the one hand and the new system created by Wood's Education Despatch on the other. It was at first hoped that such a conflict would not arise and that indigenous schools would be wisely encouraged and incorporated in the official system of education. But for several reasons, these hopes did not materialize. The officials of those days generally neglected these institutions out of utter contempt; in some instances attempts at improvement were made which, though well-meant, were so ill-advised as to lead rather to destruction than to improvement; in several cases, pressure was brought upon parents to withdraw their children from indigenous schools and to send them to the departmental ones.[1] These errors of commission and omission combined with the patronage that was extended to the new system by the free employment of persons trained in it in Government service led to the almost complete extinction of the indigenous system of education; and by 1900, practically all the institutions of higher education used English as the medium of instruction and aimed at the spread of Western knowledge and science.

The minor conflict of this Act arose between the agencies that undertook the spread of Western education in India. In 1854, this task had been mostly assumed by Europeans who came to India either as missionaries or as servants of the Company, Indians educated in the Western system were neither available in large numbers nor were they considered to be fit to conduct English schools or colleges. Hence, Indian educational efforts were mostly limited to the collection of funds and to the conducting of schools and colleges under European headmasters or principals requisitioned from abroad.

In 1880, however, circumstances were considerably altered and three different agencies for the spread of education grew up and began to compete for supremacy. The first of these was the agency of the mission schools and colleges; the second was that of the educational institutions organized by the Education Departments, and the third was the small beginning of the private effort of Indians themselves. The Indian Education Commission was called upon to weigh the relative merits of each of these agencies and to decide upon the best mode of spreading education

[1]Sir Philip Hartog: *Some Aspects of Indian Education, Past and Present, vide* para. 27 p. 105.

in India. It opined that missionary enterprise could only occupy a subordinate place in Indian education; that departmental institutions were too costly to be multiplied; that it would be in the best interests of a poor country like India to close them or transfer them to private enterprise; and that the efforts of Government should be mainly directed to the encouragement of private Indian enterprise as the best means of spreading education in India.

These recommendations were generally acted upon by the Provincial Governments, and the twenty years between 1880 and 1900 saw such a great development of private schools and colleges conducted by Indians that, in 1901-02, Indian private enterprise was the most important agency for spreading Western education among the people.

The *fourth* Act opens in 1901 with the conference of the Directors of Public Instruction convened by Lord Curzon at Simla and closes in 1921 with the transfer of education to the control of Indian Ministers.

The twenty years between 1901 and 1921 were a period of intense and ever-increasing political unrest in India. The Bengal Partition Movement, the Morley-Minto Reforms, the World War, the Non-Co-operation Movement, and such other events, led to a great political awakening and discontent and it is out of these major political conflicts that the educational conflicts of the period saw the light of day.

Secondly, it has to be noted that, during this period, both Indian and European educationists were greatly dissatisfied with the educational system. One section of thinkers—the Officials mostly belonged to this—believed that the quality of education had materially deteriorated since 1880; that schools and colleges under private management had generally been unable to maintain discipline; that educated Indians had been unable to digest an exotic culture; that the ideal of spreading Western knowledge and science had outlived its utility; and that the educational system ought to aim at training men and women of character and be replanned accordingly. This class of educationists attributed most of these defects to the policy of expansion and *laissez faire* to private enterprise which had been pursued since the report of the Indian Education Commission, and recommended

that Government should now aim at control and improvement of schools and colleges rather than at increasing their number.

The other school of thinkers—which included most of the enlightened Indians—still believed in the wisdom of the policy recommended by the Indian Education Commission. They were not unwilling to concede that education had deteriorated, but to them quality was not everything. They felt that the spread of Western knowledge was essential for creating a renaissance in Indian national life and advocated a very rapid expansion of higher education on a voluntary basis and the introduction of compulsory elementary education for the masses. This school of thinkers argued that private enterprise ought to be given full freedom to grow and that a policy of control and improvement would be suicidal to the best interests of the country.

It was the conflict between these two widely different schools of thought that makes up the fourth Act of this great drama. The conflict began first at the University stage. Battles royal were fought over the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 and the Indian Universities Act of 1904, and resulted in an almost complete victory for the protagonists of the theory of control and improvement of quality. The conflict then spread to the secondary stage and again this party obtained a great victory when the revised grant-in-aid codes were framed between 1904 and 1908. Lastly, the conflict reached the primary stage and an intensive struggle arose over Gokhale's bill for introducing compulsory elementary education. The party won for the third time and the bill was thrown out by a large majority. As may be easily anticipated, however, these "victories" led to considerable embitterment of public feeling and the Indian nationalist opinion began to demand the power to control the educational policy of the country. It was to satisfy this demand that the Department of Education was transferred to the control of Indian Ministers in 1921.

The *fifth* Act of this drama opens in 1921 and closes in 1937 when the Government of India Act of 1935 introduced Provincial Autonomy in eleven provinces of British India. It is a period of first experiments under Indian control.

A burst of enthusiasm, the transfer of education to Indian control, and many long-desired changes marked the opening of this Act. The political conflicts of the earlier period ceased to

exist; all further recruitment to the Indian Educational Service was discontinued, power being given to each province to organize its own educational services; and the control and supervision which the Government of India used to exercise over the details of administration came to an end. Consequently, the Provincial Governments had much greater freedom to plan programmes of educational expansion and improvements, and the earlier part of this period thus witnessed the undertaking of several new schemes, the sanctioning of increased grants to education, and a rapid increase in the enrolment of scholars.

Unfortunately, however, a number of serious difficulties soon presented themselves and darkened the horizon. The financial arrangements introduced by the Government of India Act, 1919, enriched the Central Government at the cost of Provincial Governments; the special grants to education which were liberally sanctioned by the Government of India in the period 1901 to 1921 were suddenly discontinued; and the situation was made almost desperate by the world economic depression which affected the major portion of this period. Consequently, most of the new schemes undertaken had to be given up and drastic retrenchment had to be made even in the existing expenditure on education.

These financial difficulties gave a great set-back to the enthusiasm with which this Act opened. A still greater set-back, however, was given by the ideological conflicts that arose in this period. One school of thought advocated that India should concentrate on quality and consolidate one position before another was attacked. The other school advocated a rapid expansion of education and a planned and determined attempt to liquidate mass illiteracy. These conflicts, which, as we have seen above, had really begun in the earlier period, came to a head with the report of the Hartog Committee in 1929 and were in full swing when the Act came to an end in 1937.

With the introduction of Provincial Autonomy and the assumption of office by the Congress in seven Provinces out of eleven, a new page was turned in the history of India and the *sixth* Act of the drama began. The three years between 1937 and 1940 formed an extremely crowded hour in educational history. Even during this short period, larger funds for education were made available; schemes for the expansion of primary education, the introduction of compulsion, and the liquidation

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Chapter One

INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN INDIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1. **Introductory.** The principal object of this book is to trace the growth of the modern system of education which came to be established in India during the British Period *in supersession of* the traditional indigenous system of education which had developed in the country through centuries past. It is a common belief, particularly among many Western scholars, that this indigenous system of education had hardly anything of value in it; that it was better dead than alive; and that the British officers of the Education Department were fully justified in allowing or even helping it to die and in replacing it by the modern system of schools, colleges and universities. It is an essential part of the work of those who undertake to write the history of education in India to find out whether, and if so, how far such a belief is justified. We, therefore, propose to discuss, in this initial chapter, the character and extent of the indigenous system of education as it prevailed in India at the beginning of the nineteenth century (when the British Government may be said to have begun laying the foundation of the modern system of education), its merits and demerits and its potentialities to develop into a national system of education by suitable improvement and extension.

2. **Sources of Information.** It is unfortunate that the sources of information regarding the character and extent of the indigenous system of education in the earlier half of the nineteenth century should be extremely meagre. In the first place, the available sources refer only to British territories which, at that time, formed but a small part of India, and we have next to no data regarding the vast remaining area which was under the rule of several Indian potentates. Secondly, our sources do not cover even the whole of that area which was then under British rule. In Madras, an enquiry into indigenous education was ordered by Sir Thomas Munro in 1822 and the information obtained refers to all districts except that of Kanara. In Bombay, a similar enquiry was ordered by Mountstuart

Elphinstone in 1823 and statistics were obtained through the Collectors for most of the Province while, in 1829, similar statistics for the Province as a whole were collected through the Judicial Department. In Bengal, a special enquiry into indigenous education was conducted in 1835-38, under the orders of Lord William Bentinck, by William Adam—a missionary who had devoted himself to the cause of Indian education. Adam submitted three reports of which the first is a digest of the earlier reports on the subject, the second is a thorough enquiry of one *Thana* in the district of Rajshahi and the third gives statistics of five districts in Bengal and Bihar out of a total of nineteen. It will thus be seen that any conclusions regarding the indigenous system of education in India, as a whole, must be based on the assumption that the area covered by the three enquiries referred to above is a fair sample of the whole countryside. Such an assumption is obviously not very sound from the statistical point of view; but it becomes inevitable in the absence of any other data.

What handicaps a student of history, however, is not so much the inadequacy of the area covered by these enquiries as their defects from the statistical or other points of view. The enquiries in Madras and Bombay were most unsatisfactory in so far as accuracy and thoroughness are concerned and it will be shown later that they included neither *all* the schools in existence nor *all* the pupils under instruction. Adam's enquiries, on the other hand, were thorough and almost flawless. But they were conducted in a Province which had been subjected to general anarchy for a very long time and where the system of indigenous education, as Adam himself pointed out, was everywhere in a state of decay. The conclusions of Adam, therefore, are not quite applicable to those parts of India which had the good fortune to enjoy a more or less settled Government. These defects in the investigation will, therefore, have to be duly allowed for in forming a fair picture of the indigenous system of education as it existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

3. **The Enquiry in Madras.** The first of the three enquiries mentioned above was that undertaken by Sir Thomas Munro in Madras. Its results were thus summed up by Munro himself:—

> The Board of Revenue were directed by Government on the 2nd July, 1822, to ascertain the number of schools, and the state of education among the natives in the provinces, and with their letter of the 21st February last, they transmitted

the reports on this subject which they had received from the several collectors. From these reports it appears that the number of schools, and of what are called colleges, in the territories under this Presidency, amounts to 12,498, and the population to 12,850,941; so that there is one school to every 1,000 of the population; but as only a very few females are taught in school, we may reckon one school to every 500 of the population.

2. It is remarked by the Board of Revenue, that of a population of 12½ millions there are only 188,000 or 1 in 67 receiving education. This is true of the whole population, but not as regards the male part of it, of which the proportion educated is much greater than is here estimated; for if we take the whole population as stated in the report at 12,85,000 and deduct one-half for females, the remaining male population will be 6,425,000; and if we reckon the male population between the age of five and ten years, which is the period which boys in general remain at school, at one-ninth, it will give 713,000 which is the number of boys that would be at school if all the males above ten years of age were educated; but the number actually attending the school is only 184,110, or little more than one-fourth of that number. I have taken the interval between five and ten years of age as the term of education, because, though many boys continue at school till twelve or fourteen, many leave it under ten. *I am, however, inclined to estimate the portion of the male population who receive school education to be nearer to one-third than one-fourth of the whole, because we have no returns from the provinces of the number taught at home.*[1] In Madras[2] the number taught at home is 26,903, or above five times greater than that taught in the schools. There is probably some error in this number, and though the number privately taught in the provinces does certainly not approach this rate, it is no doubt considerable because the practice of boys being taught at home by their relations or private teachers is not infrequent in any part of the country. The proportion educated is very different in different classes; in some it is nearly the whole; in others it is hardly one-tenth.

3. *The state of education here exhibited, low as it is compared with that of our own country, is higher than it was in most European countries at no very distant period.*[1] It has, no doubt, been better in earlier times.[3]

4. **Report of the Collector of Bellary.** Of the reports of the Collectors, the most interesting is that of the Collector of Bellary. It deserves to be quoted in extenso for the following graphic picture of the elementary indigenous schools of those days.

6. The education of the Hindoo youths generally commences when they are five years old; on reaching this age, the master and scholars of the school to which the boy is to be sent, are invited to the house of his parents, the whole are seated in a circle round an image of Gunasee and the child to be initiated is placed exactly opposite to it. The schoolmaster sitting by his side, after having burnt incense and presented offerings, causes the child to repeat a prayer to Gunasee, entreating wisdom. He then guides the child to write with its finger in rice the mystic name of the deity, and is dismissed with a present from the parents according to their ability. The child next morning commences the great work of his education.

[1] Italics ours.

[2] The word 'Madras' refers to the *City* of Madras and not to the *Province* of Madras. *Vide* Sir Philip Hartog: *Some Aspects of Indian Education*, p. 72.

[3] *Selections from the Records of the Government of Madras*, No. II, Appendix E.

7. Some children continue at school only five years; the parents, through poverty or other circumstances, being often obliged to take them away; and consequently in such cases the merest smattering of an education is obtained; where parents can afford it, and take a lively interest in the culture of their children's mind, they not infrequently continue at school as long as 14 or 15 years.

8. The internal routine of duty for each day will be found, with very few exceptions and little variation, the same in all the schools. The hour generally for opening school is six o'clock, the first child that enters has the name of Saraswatee, or the goddess of learning, written upon the palm of his hand as a sign of honour; and on the hand of the second a cypher is written to show that he is worthy neither of praise nor censure; the third scholar receives a gentle stripe; the fourth two; and every succeeding scholar that comes an additional one. The custom, as well as the punishment in native schools, seems of a severe kind. The idle scholar is flogged and often suspended by both hands and a pulley to the roof, or obliged to kneel down and rise incessantly, which is a most painful and fatiguing, but perhaps a healthy mode of punishment.

9. When the whole are assembled, the scholars, according to their number and attainments, are divided into several classes, the lower ones of which are partly under the care of monitors, whilst the higher ones are more immediately under the superintendence of the master, who at the same time has his eye upon the whole school. The number of classes is generally four, and a scholar rises from one to the other according to his capacity and progress. The first business of a child on entering school is to obtain a knowledge of the letters, which he learns by writing them with his finger on the ground in sand, and not by pronouncing the alphabet, as among European nations. When he becomes pretty dexterous in writing with his finger in sand, he has then the privilege of writing either with an iron style on cadjan leaves, or with a reed on paper, and sometimes on the leaves of the Aristolochia Indica, or with a kind of pencil on the Hulligi or Kadala, which answers the purpose of slates. The two latter in these districts are the most common. One of these is a common oblong board, about a foot in width and three feet in length; this board when planed smooth has only to be smeared with a little rice and pulverized charcoal, and it is then fit for use. The other is made of cloth, first stiffened with rice water, doubled into folds resembling a book, and it is then covered with a composition of charcoal and several gums. The writing on either of these may be effaced by a wet cloth, the pencil used is called Bultapa, a kind of white clay substance, somewhat resembling a crayon, with the exception of being rather harder.

10. Having attained a thorough knowledge of the letters, the scholar next learns to write the compounds, or the manner of embodying the symbols of the vowels in the consonants and the formation of syllables, etc., then the names of men, villages, animals, etc., and lastly arithmetical signs. He then commits to memory an addition table and counts from one to 100; he afterwards writes easy sums in addition and subtraction of money, multiplication and the reduction of money, measure, etc. Here great pains are taken with the scholar in teaching him the fractions of an integer, which descend, not by tens as in our decimal fractions, but by fours, and are carried to a great extent. In order that these fractions together with the arithmetical tables in addition, multiplication and the three-fold measures of capacity, weight and extent, may be rendered quite familiar to the minds of the scholars, they are made to stand up twice a day in rows, and repeat the whole after one of the monitors.

11. The other parts of native education consist in deciphering various kinds of handwriting in public, and other letters which the schoolmaster collects

from different sources, writing common letters, drawing up forms of agreement, reading fables and legendary tales and committing various kinds of poetry to memory, chiefly with a view to attain distinctness and clearness of pronunciation together with readiness and correctness in reading any kind of composition.

16. *The economy with which children are taught to write in the native schools, and the system by which the most advanced scholars are caused to teach the less advanced, and at the same time to confirm their own knowledge, is certainly admirable, and well deserves the imitation it has received in England.* The chief defects in the native schools are the nature of the books and learning taught and the want of competent masters.[1]

5. **Reliability of the Enquiry in Madras.** The reliability of the statistics obtained from this enquiry is generally challenged by historians on grounds that are diametrically opposed to each other. One view represented by Sir Philip Hartog holds that these statistics were overestimated.[2] A closer examination of the available data will, however, show that this view is not correct. In the first place, the statistics for children under *domestic instruction* were excluded (except for the District of Madras) in the figures given by the Collectors. It must be remembered that Munro's original circular did not refer to domestic instruction.[3] Very possibly, Munro was unaware of its existence at that time. It would be obvious to any one who is conversant with official routine that the Collectors did not supply the figures of children under domestic instruction, not because it did not exist in their district, not even because they were unaware of its existence, but because *the figures were not explicitly called for in Government orders.* This is clear from the fact that no Collector except that of Madras gave statistics of children under domestic instruction although Munro was convinced that "the practice of boys being taught at home by their parents or private teachers is not infrequent in *any* part of the country". The Collector of Madras apparently went out of his way and supplied the figures of pupils under domestic instruction also, even though they were not specially called for. It is certainly an ill reward for all this labour to class him with Collectors "less careful and interested in education than Campbell" as Sir Philip seems to do.

Secondly, it must be noted that Munro himself was convinced that his statistics were underestimates. He calculated the

[1] *Selections from the Record of the Government of Madras*, No. II, Appendix D. (Italics ours.)

[2] Sir Philip Hartog: *Some Aspects of Indian Education*, p. 72.

[3] *Selections from the Records of the Government of Madras*, No. II, Appendix A.

population of school-going age at 1/9th of the total population. This gave him the number of boys of school-going age at 713,000 and he found that only 184,000 or one-fourth were in schools. But he felt that some allowance must be made for the children under domestic instruction. He was not prepared to accept the figures given by the Collector of Madras as reliable because he could not believe that for every boy in a *school* there were five under domestic instruction. But all the same, he admitted that the figures available were *underestimates* and observed that the number of boys under instruction was nearer to one-third than to one-fourth of the total number of boys of school-going age.

Perhaps the best course for Munro would have been to demand a rechecking of the Madras figures and to collect statistics of children under domestic instruction from other Collectors. But he was not interested in the problem. He did not aim at statistical accuracy. His only object, as he pointed out in his original Minute, was to have some idea of the indigenous system and he dropped all further enquiry in the matter as he felt that he had enough data to prepare his proposals for educational reform. It would be futile to speculate as to what would have been the result of a careful enquiry into the system of domestic instruction, but there can be no doubt that the available evidence clearly points to the conclusion that Munro's figures were largely underestimated.

6. **The Enquiries in Bombay (1823-25).** Shortly after Munro had started his enquiry into indigenous education in the Province of Madras, Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, started a similar enquiry in the Province of Bombay. At his instance, the Secretary to Government addressed a circular letter to all Collectors (dated 10th March, 1824) and called for immediate information regarding indigenous education. The replies from most of the Collectors were received in 1824-25 and have been recently published with an erudite editorial note, by Shri R. V. Parulekar.[1] These reports do not cover the whole of the Province as it then existed; nor can all relevant papers of the enquiry be traced at present. But from such data as

[1] *A Source-Book of History of Education in the Bombay Province*, Part I, Survey of Indigenous Education (1820-30).

is available, the following general conclusions may be drawn about the then condition of indigenous education in the Province of Bombay:—

(a) *The Elementary Indigenous Schools* : There is no mention of a single school which was held in a house exclusively used for itself. Most of them were held in temples, private dwellings or sheds, or the houses of the teachers themselves. In some cases, a respectable gentleman in the town or village gave a portion of his house for holding a school. They had hardly any continuity and sprang up or vanished according to local demand or its absence. The average number of pupils per school worked out at 15 and varied from 2 to 150, and most of the schools were single-teacher institutions. As a rule, they were not communal in their working and were open to all who could afford to pay for their schooling except to those who belonged to the so-called low castes.

(b) *The Teachers* : Of the teachers, the majority were Brahmins who were attached to the profession more by the *respectability* which tradition gave to it rather than by considerations of actual gains in cash or kind. Among the other castes from which teachers generally came may be mentioned the names of Prabhus, Marathas, Bhandarees, Kunbis, Wanis, Shimpis, Banias, etc. The total remuneration of the teacher was between Rs. 3 and Rs. 5 p.m. on an average and consisted of payments in cash and kind. But there were some compensations for this low remuneration. As Shri R. V. Parulekar observes:—

> We have so far considered the regular emoluments which the schoolmasters expected to get as their dues. In actual practice, however, they scarcely got the full amount. The schoolmaster of the time, however, could claim certain privileges from the community which compensated, not to a small extent, for the smallness of his earning. He was entirely a man of the people whose children he taught. He was always remembered in the hearts and at the hearths of the people. The well-to-do and the rich gave him more than others, both in cash and kind. He could command a meal from the parents of his pupils for mere asking. On marriage ceremonies of his pupils—and these were not rare in those days of early marriage—he received substantial presents and gave his blessings. The Ahmedabad report says 'A schoolmaster is invariably invited to all great dinners in his own caste and besides his fixed and established emoluments, he generally receives considerable presents at Dusserah, Dewally and other great days, from the wealthy inhabitants of his village. It is usual when a marriage procession passes by a school, to make a small present in money to the schoolmaster, and to obtain a holiday, for the boys. From the Karnatak, a similar practice is

also reported where the teacher was remembered with equal love and respect on occasions of joy and festivity'.[1]

The educational attainments of the teachers were also far from satisfactory. As Shri R. V. Parulekar points out,

> The teachers who taught in the common elementary schools of the time were required to teach the rudiments of the three R's. Knowledge of the multiplication and other tables in their long and complicated array was essential to every teacher; but beyond that a tolerably good handwriting and ability to read simple writing formed the minimum attainments of a common schoolmaster. It is not, therefore, surprising that a report from Gujrath says 'the masters are ignorant, and in fact, as to knowledge to be gained from books, have as much to learn as the boys themselves'.[2]

(*c*) *The Pupils* of the elementary schools came from all Hindu castes, except the Harijans. About 30 per cent of them were Brahmins. The other castes which sent large numbers of pupils to schools were Wanis, Prabhus, Sonars and Banias. The *advanced* communities contributed about 70 per cent of the total number of pupils. Their age varied from 6 to 14; and the average duration of school life was about 2 or 3 years in Gujerat and about 3 or 4 years in the other areas.

(*d*) *Curriculum and Methods of Teaching :* The elementary schools taught the rudiments of Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. A large variety of multiplication tables were taught to the pupils mainly with a view to enabling them to solve mentally all types of sums that ordinarily occurred in daily life. There was a complete absence of printed books. The equipment of the schools was very simple and crude, if it existed at all, and the punishments awarded to pupils were both frequent and severe.

(*e*) *Female Education :* There is no mention of a female scholar attending any of the common schools of the Province. This is by no means due to hurry or omission. The common schools of the time were meant for boys only.

(*f*) *Domestic Instruction :* The Bombay reports do not take into consideration the system of domestic instruction and do not give any details about the system, although they contain some stray references to its existence in different parts of the Province.

(*g*) *Education of the Muslims :* There were several indigenous schools which were attended by Muslims alone and which were in charge of Muslim teachers. These schools taught

[1]R. V. Parulekar: *op. cit.*, p. ix.

[2]*Ibid.*

Persian and, in some cases, *Hindustani*. In several places, Muslims attended the ordinary Hindu schools.

(*h*) *Hindu Schools of Higher Learning.* Some of the reports mention the Hindu Schools of higher learning. In Ahmednagar, 16 such schools existed and in Poona City, there were as many as 164 (out of a total of 222 educational institutions of all kinds).

7. **The Enquiry in Bombay (1829).** This enquiry was different from those of 1823-25 because the information was now called for, not through the Collectors, but through the District Judges. It showed the existence of 1,705 schools with 35,153 pupils for a population of 4,681,735.

8. **Reliability of the Enquiries in Bombay.** How far are these reports reliable? From the qualitative point of view, it may be admitted that they give a fairly correct picture of the indigenous educational institutions of the period. But it may well be doubted whether they give an equally realistic picture on the quantitative side. It has already been stated, that these reports do not take much notice of the system of domestic instruction which certainly existed in Bombay. Even in respect of formal schools, it is highly improbable that they include statistics of *all* the institutions in existence. Several of these reports were compiled in great haste. For instance, the Broach, Kaira and Surat Collectors were able to submit their reports within about four months of the Government letter instituting the enquiry. Although others were not so expeditious, the time taken by them was not certainly enough for such an extensive enquiry touching every village in the districts reported upon, especially in view of the slow means of conveyance and despatch of correspondence which then prevailed. The 1828-29 report was also not more cautious in this respect. Secondly, errors seem to have crept in because of the peculiar situation of this period. "The Peshwa's rule was just ended and the New Rulers were just establishing theirs. There was an atmosphere of suspicion that whatever Government did was with some ulterior motive for its own benefit."[1] In such an atmosphere, it is hardly to be wondered if the people deliberately suppressed information regarding several schools from the enquiring officers of the Government. Thirdly, the reports were mostly compiled by busy officers who were not particularly interested

[1]R. V. Parulekar: *op. cit.*, p. iv.

in the problems and any one who is conversant with such official enquiries knows that their results are not always reliable. Fourthly, evidence to the contrary is available from the statements of several important British officials of this period. As Shri R. V. Parulekar observes :—

The following remarkable statement was made by Mr. G. L. Prendergast, a member of the Bombay Governor's Council in his Minute of 1821:

I need hardly mention what every member of the Board knows as well as I do, that there is hardly a village, great or small, throughout our territories, in which there is not at least one school, and in larger villages more, many in every town and in larger cities in every division; where young natives are taught reading, writing and arithmetic, upon a system so economical, from a handful or two of grain, to perhaps a rupee per month to the school master; according to the ability of the parents, and at the same time so simple and effectual that there is hardly a cultivator or petty dealer who is not competent to keep his own accounts with a degree of accuracy, in my opinion, beyond what we meet with amongst the lower orders in our own country; while the more splendid dealers and bankers keep their books with a degree of ease, conciseness and clearness, I rather think fully equal to those of any British Merchant (Evidence of 1832, p. 468).

There are schools maintained by the natives in almost every village in Candeish (Evidence of 1832, p. 296).

There are probably as great a proportion of persons in India who can read, write and keep simple accounts as are to be found in European Countries [Fifth Annual Report (1819) of the Bombay Education Society, p. 11].

Schools are frequent among the natives and abound everywhere [B. E. S.'s ixth Report (1820), p. 21].

We do not suggest that these general impressions about the extent of education in the Province of Bombay should be taken at their face value, but to ignore them altogether and to insist on taking the 'official' figures at their face value would be equally improper.[1]

An approach to the problem with an open mind is, therefore, more likely to show that the Bombay statistics are unreliable underestimates than to prove that they can be taken as the yardstick with which to measure the extent of elementary education in India as a whole.

9. **Enquiries in Bengal.** The enquiries conducted in Bengal regarding the indigenous system of education differed strikingly from those in Madras and Bombay. These enquiries were conducted by a non-official—a zealous missionary by the name of William Adam—and not through the official channels of the Revenue and Judicial Departments. Moreover, the work of these enquiries was far more methodical and spread over a far longer time than was the case with those in Madras and Bombay.

[1]R. V. Parulekar : *op. cit.*, p. v.

The findings of William Adam, therefore, deserve a very careful study.[1]

10. **Adam's First Report.** The first report of Adam is a very carefully prepared digest of all the educational data then available. It makes very good reading although the information it contains is neither so adequate nor so reliable as that in his own two later reports. The main interest of the report lies, however, in the following passage which, in recent years, has become the subject of a great controversy :—

Indigenous Elementary Schools : By this description are meant those schools in which instruction in the elements of knowledge is communicated, and which have been originated and are supported by the Natives themselves, in contra-distinction from those that are supported by religious or philanthropic societies. The number of such schools in Bengal is supposed to be very great. A distinguished member of the General Committee of Public Instruction in a Minute on the subject expressed the opinion, that if one rupee per mensem were expended on each existing village school in the Lower Provinces, the amount would probably fall little short of 12 lakhs of rupees per annum. This supposes that there are 100,000 such schools in Bengal and Bihar, and assuming the population of those two provinces to be 40,000,000, there would be a village school for every 400 persons.[2]

This report has been dubbed a *myth* or a *legend* by some students of educational history (like Sir Philip Hartog) while others (like Shri R. V. Parulekar) maintain with equal force that it is substantially correct. The argument chiefly centres round two points : firstly, the two sides differ in the interpretation of the word *school.* One side uses the expression in its *modern* sense, *viz.*, an institution of a more or less permanent nature conducted by a person who teaches a certain number of the children of the locality in return for fees and perquisites from the pupils and/or a remuneration from the community. If the word is used in this sense, it is correct to conclude that the idea of 100,000 *schools* in Bengal is a *fantastic exaggeration of facts.* But the other side contests this interpretation. It argues that, in those days, the word *school* was used to mean *a place where instruction was given* and included the centres where the system of domestic instruction prevailed. According to this view, a family where a teacher was employed to give education to its children, or where the father taught his own children—with or without other children from the locality—was also a *school* as understood in those

[1]The information given in this and the following paragraphs is taken from the edition of *Adam's Report* edited by Shri A. N. Basu and published by the University of Calcutta.

[2]*Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, p. 6.

days. In support of this theory, it is pointed out that Adam collected all statistics of families giving domestic instruction as part of his enquiry about schools and scholars.[1] If this view is accepted, it follows that almost every village in Bengal had a school, public or private, and that the larger ones had several each.

Secondly, the question as to why Adam himself did not point out the falsity of the *legend* of one lakh schools is also variously answered, The honesty of Adam is not doubted; but Sir Philip thinks that he could not "summarize his statistics clearly",[2] while the other side points out the great powers of observation and analysis that he displays in his reports and asserts that the legend of 100,000 schools has persisted in official and non-official circles for the simple reason that it was *not* a legend. As M. R. Paranjpe observed:—

Officials and publicists who belong to this century and who have no personal knowledge of the educational conditions of the country in the middle half of the nineteenth century are unwilling to believe that there ever were schools in villages where the modern Departments of Education find it impossible to maintain them. They cannot conceive of simple instructional centres maintained by the villages jointly or by rich landlords individually, by paying the teachers in kind. But officials and non-officials who lived in the fifties and sixties of the last century have, like Adam, admitted the existence of a school in every village. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there existed a fairly widespread organization for primary education in most parts of India. In Madras Presidency, Sir Thomas Munro found 'a primary school in every village' (Mill—*History of British India*, Vol. I, p. 562, 4th Edition). In Bengal, Ward discovered that 'almost all villages possessed schools for teaching reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic.' (Ward—*View of the Hindoos*, Vol. I, p. 160.) In Malva, which was for more than half a century suffering from continuous anarchy, Malcolm noticed that 'every village with about a hundred houses had an elementary school at the time of its coming under the British suzerainty.' (Malcolm—*Memoirs of Central India and Malva*, Vol. II, p. 150.)[3]

11. **Adam's Second Report.** In his second report, Adam made a thorough and comprehensive enquiry of one Thana, Nattore, in the district of Rajshahi. His main object in doing this was to get an insight into the problem and the difficulties of investigation. He selected Nattore because it was the most central of the Thanas of the Rajshahi district and could be regarded as a standard for judging conditions in the other sub-divisions. The results of Adam's enquiries are briefly stated in the following paragraphs.

[1]Adam's own words on this subject are the following:—

"Elementary instruction in this district (*i.e.*, *Rajshahi*) is divisible into two sorts : Public and Private, according as it is communicated in public schools or private families. The distinction is not always strictly maintained, but it is sufficiently marked."—*Reports*, Calcutta Edition, pp. 136-37.

[2]Sir Philip Hartog: *Some Aspects of Indian Education*, p. 75.

[3]*Progress of Education*, July 1940, p. 38.

The population of the Thana was 195,296 of which 129,640 were Muslims and 65,656 Hindus. The number of villages was 485. Adam found only 27 elementary schools with 262 pupils. Of these 10 were Bengali schools with 167 pupils, 4 were Persian schools with 23 pupils, 11 were Arabic schools (for the teaching of the Koran) with 42 pupils and 2 were Bengali and Persian schools with 30 pupils. Besides these, there were 1,588 families belonging to 238 villages, which gave instruction to 2,342 children. In other words, the number of children under domestic instruction was nearly nine times the number of pupils in public schools. The average age of admission to a public elementary school was 8 years and the average age of leaving school was 14 years. The average pay of the teachers in elementary schools was Rs. 5-8 per month.

There were no indigenous colleges conducted by Muslims. But Adam found 38 Sanskrit colleges with 397 students. The average age of admission was 11 years and the average age of completing the course was 27 years. Of the 397 students, 136 belonged to the villages where the colleges were situated and received free education only, while 261 students belonged to other villages and received food, lodging and education, free of charge, from their teachers.

Female education was practically non-existent. But Adam estimated that the total number of instructed adults in Nattore was 6,121 as under : –

Teachers in Hindu Colleges	39
Learned men who were not teachers	88
Students in Colleges	397
Persons who had received an education superior to reading and writing	3,255
Persons who could sign their names or read imperfectly	2,342
Total ..	6,121

This gives a literacy percentage of 6.1 to the total male population and 3.1 to the whole population including females.

12. **Adam's Third Report.** The third report of Adam is the most important of all. It is divided into two parts. In the first part, Adam gives the statistics collected by him for five districts, *viz.*, Murshidabad, Birbhum, Burdwan, South Bihar and Tirhut. In the second part, he gives his proposals for the reform of indigenous schools.

Adam prefers his third report by admitting that, in spite of all that he could do, his statistics were *underestimated.* The

causes are mainly two: In the first place, he conducted the investigation under his personal supervision in one Thana of each district and employed agents to collect information from the other Thanas. This enabled him to collect a good deal of data but he found that the reports of his agents were not quite reliable. "Although I believe", wrote Adam, "that the returns I receive are in general worthy of confidence as far as they go, yet I have no security that they are not defective. In traversing a district, my agents could not visit all the villages it contained, amounting to several thousands. This was physically impossible without protracting the enquiry beyond all reasonable limits. They were, therefore, compelled to depend either upon their personal knowledge, or upon the information that could be gathered from others as to the places possessing schools, every one of which was invariably visited and examined; but that in no instance a village-institution has been overlooked is more than I dare affirm, and in point of fact I have sometimes discovered instances in which such institutions had at first escaped attention."[1] Secondly, he found that sometimes the people got frightened at the enquiry and concealed the exact number of females in the house, and that often, even schools and colleges "concealed themselves to escape the dreaded inquisition."[2] But even after making allowance for these candid confessions, it must be admitted that his statistics of indigenous education are the most reliable of all the statistics we possess on the subject.

The following tables summarise the general statistics given by Adam:—

TABLE I.—*Schools*

District.	Number of schools.								Total.
	Bengali.	Hindi.	Sanskrit.	Persian.	Formal Arabic.	Arabic.	English.	Girls.	
Murshidabad	62	5	24	17	..	2	2	1	113
Birbhum	407	5	56	71	..	2	2	1	544
Burdwan	629+1 (infants)	..	190	93	3	8	3	4	931
South Bihar	..	86	27	279	..	12	1	..	605
Tirhut	..	80	56	234	..	4	..	..	374
Total ..	1,099	376	353		3	28	8	6	2,567

[1] *Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, p. 219.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

TABLE II.—*Scholars*

District.	Number of scholars.					Total.
	Bengali & Hindi.	Sanskrit.	Persian & Arabic.	English.	Girls.	
Murshidabad	1,080	153	109	26	28	1,396
Birbhum	6,383	393	490	73	11	7,350
Burdwan	13,190	1,358	971	120	175	15,814
South Bihar	3,090	437	1,486	23	..	5,036
Tirhut	507	214	598	..	..	1,319
Total ..	24,250	2,555	3,654	242	214	30,915

These statistics *exclude* the centres of domestic instruction and if reliance is to be placed on these alone, it is obvious that the report of one lakh schools in Bengal can only be a *myth.* This is exactly the argument used by Sir Philip Hartog who gives the following figures:—

Area.	Population.	No. of schools actually existing.	Hypothetical number of schools on the basis of one school per 400 of population.
Murshidabad	186,841	113	467
Birbhum	1,267,067	544	3,168
Burdwan	1,187,580	931	2,969
South Bihar	1,340,610	605	3,352
Tirhut	1,697,700	374	4,244

(Taken from p. 83 of *Some Aspects of Indian Education.*)

Evidently, Adam could not but have noticed the great discrepancy between his earlier statement of the existence of one lakh schools in Bengal and these figures; and the only way in which one can explain his silence is to assume that he *knew* that centres of domestic instruction were excluded from these figures and that his earlier report would have been true

if they had been included. For instance, he collected the figures for centres of domestic instruction in one Thana of each of the above districts and his figures bear out his earlier statement in its entirety:—

Area.	Population.	No. of towns and villages.	Number of schools.				Total.	No. of hypothetical schools on the basis of one school for 400 people.
			Elementary schools (includes Persian).	Schools of learning.	Other schools.	Private schools of domestic instruction.		
City of Murshidabad	124,804	..	59	26	3	216	304	312
Thana Daulatbazar	62,037	183	25	..	..	254	279	155
,, Nanglia ..	46,416	267	34	2	..	207	243	116
,, Culna ..	116,425	288	79	38	2	475	594	291
,, Jehanabad ..	81,480	803	85	7	..	360	452	203
,, Bhawara ..	65,812	402	6	7	..	235	248	164
Total ..	496,974	1,943	288	80	5	1,747	2,120	1,241

Similarly, we shall have to take into consideration the number of children under domestic instruction if we want to have a correct idea of the population receiving instruction. The following statistics for the six Thanas where intensive studies were undertaken are supplied by Adam:-

Area.	Population.	No. of children receiving school instruction.	No. of children receiving domestic instruction.	Total No. of children receiving domestic and school instruction.
1	2	3	4	5
City of Murshidabad ..	124,804	959	300	1,259
Thana Daulatbazar ..	62,037	305	326	631
,, Nanglia	46,416	439	285	724
,, Culna	116,425	2,243	676	2,919
,, Jehanabad ..	81,480	366	539	905
,, Bhawara ..	65,812	60	288	348
Total ..	496,974	4,372	2,414	6,786

These figures show that the ratio of pupils to total population was 1 to 73. If male population alone is considered, the ratio would be 1 to 36, that is to say, a little less than the ratio given by Munro.

Let us now turn to the statistics of literacy given by Adam (see Table on p. 20). They are equivalent to "the first systematic census of literacy in India".[1] But one aspect of these statistics is challenged by scholars like Sir Philip. Adam divided his adult literates into six classes under the sixth of which he enumerated all persons who could "decipher or sign their names". The census definition of literacy is "ability to read and write a letter" and judged from this point of view, these persons cannot be considered to be literate. In comparing Adam's figures of literacy with those of later days, therefore, Sir Philip excludes the 5,519 persons who could only "dicipher or sign their names." This view, however, is challenged by other students of history like Shri R. V. Parulekar. He, and others who agree with him, contend that standards of attainment are bound to vary from age to age and that it would be wrong to judge Adam's age by standards which came to be adopted a century later. In his day, there were no papers, no printed books, no post-offices and hence the requirements of people in the matter of literacy were very limited indeed. They, therefore, argue that in comparing Adam's figures of literacy with those of later years, we must include all persons whom he himself regarded as literate. This point will be discussed in further detail in Chapter VIII. It would, however, be enough to state here that the principal use of these statistics, *viz.*, comparison with the statistics of literacy in British India in 1921 is not materially affected by the adoption of either view.

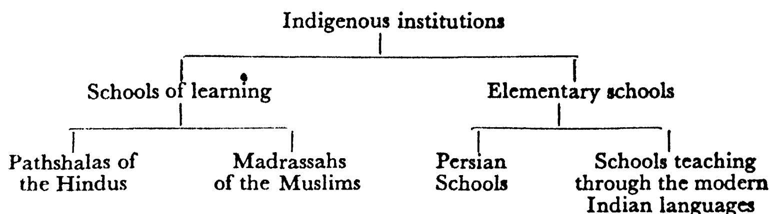
13. **Extent and Character of the Indigenous System of Education at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century.** In the foregoing pages, we took a bird's-eye view of the principal sources of information regarding the indigenous system of education. We shall now conclude this discussion with a brief description of the character and extent of indigenous education as it existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

[1]Sir Philip Hartog: *Some Aspects of Indian Education*, p. 84.

	City of Murshidabad.	Thana Daulatbazar.	Thana Nanglia.	Thana Culna.	Thana Jehanabad.	Thana Bhawara.	Total of last six columns.
1. Adults who have received a learned education and are engaged in the business of teaching ..	33	..	2	38	6	7	86
2. Adults who have received a learned education and who are not engaged in the business of teaching	75	13	12	99	19	27	245
3. Adults who have not received a learned education and who are engaged in the business of teaching with attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing ..	60	25	34	93	53	6	271
4. Adults who have neither received a learned education nor are engaged in the business of teaching but who possess attainment superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing ..	4,767	555	352	2,424	992	425	9,515
5. Adults who can merely read and write ..	1,700	614	593	2,304	761	303	6,275
6. Adults who can decipher or sign their names ..	715	565	620	2,350	1,004	265	5,519
Total ..	7,350	1,772	1,613	7,308	2,835	1,033	21,911

N.B.—This table is taken from *Literacy of India in Pre-British Days* by R. V. Parulekar.

(*a*) *Types of Institutions:* The indigenous educational institutions of this period were divided into four main types as under:—



(*b*) *Schools of Learning:* Although the Hindus and Muslims had separate schools of learning, several important features were common to both the types of institutions. For instance, both kinds of institutions received pecuniary assistance from rulers, chieftains and opulent or religious citizens. Both were staffed by learned teachers, some of whom were authors of repute, but most of whom received very low remuneration. In both, instruction was mostly given gratis and no regular fees, as now understood, were charged. Both were mediæval in character, used a classical language as the medium of instruction (Sanskrit in one case and Arabic or Persian in the other), and imparted instruction on traditional lines. In both, the teachers were remunerated in one or more of the following ways, *viz.*, grants of land made by rulers, occasional voluntary presents from pupils and members of the public, allowances paid by wealthy citizens, and payment in the form of food, clothes or other articles. Lastly, both had a few teachers who not only taught gratis but also provided food and lodging to their pupils.

Generally speaking, the schools had no special buildings of their own. Where these existed, they were built either by the teachers themselves, or at the expense of patrons or friends, or by subscriptions from the people. In most cases, however, the schools were held in the local temple or mosque and not infrequently in the house of some local magnate or patron or of the teacher himself. The students entered the schools at a farily early age and studied as long as they desired and often for as long as twelve years or more. It must be noted that the State had nothing to do with the day-to-day work of these schools. They were conducted by learned men individually who did so more for religious than for pecuniary considerations.

The Hindu schools of learning were conducted almost exclusively by Brahmins and a very large majority of the students attending them were Brahmins. There were no women students nor any persons belonging to the large number of communities who were denied the right to study the sacred lore. In the Persian and Arabic schools, on the other hand, though the teachers were generally Muslims, a Hindu teacher of Persian was not a rare phenomenon. Moreover, several Hindus attended Persian schools conducted by Muslims because Persian was then the Court language. In some of the Bengal districts, Adam even found that the majority of students in Persian schools were Hindus.

(c) *The Indigenous Elementary Schools:* The schools of learning of this period correspond to the colleges of modern type. They gave the highest instruction known, which, in those days, meant mostly religious instruction. Their chief object was to produce Moulavis and Pandits, and people were led to support them mainly by religious motives. Although they were highly venerated by the people, they were really the weaker and less useful part of the educational system on account of their exclusive character, conservative tone and obsolete ideals and methods of instruction.

The indigenous elementary school, the main agency for the spread of mass education, was a humbler but far more useful institution. The instruction given in it was of a practical type and mostly limited to the three R's. It catered, not to the needs of the priestly class, but to the mundane requirements of the petty zamindar, the bania and the well-to-do farmer. It had no religious veneration attached to it, and consequently, it had no endowments either from the State or from the public. Its teachers were men of ordinary attainments and, very often, they knew no more than the little they taught in their schools. Their remuneration was much lower than that of the teachers in the schools of learning and, except in those cases, where the teacher was maintained by a rich person, consisted of small collections or occasional presents from parents of children who attended the school. Occasionally, some of the teachers in these schools followed some other profession or trade for their maintenance and conducted the school only as a side business. Unlike the schools of learning, it is worthy of note that the pupils in these schools included a small percentage of girls and children

of many communities although the children of the upper classes formed the large majority.

Some features of the indigenous elementary schools are of great interest. For instance, their equipment was extremely simple. They had no buildings and were held, sometimes, in the house of the teacher or the patron of the school, often in a local temple, and not infrequently under a tree. There were no printed books and the slates or pencils used by pupils were such as could be easily made in the locality. The hours of instruction and the days of working were finely adjusted to local requirements. The size of the school was generally small —the number of pupils varying from one or two to ten or fifteen at the most. There were consequently no classes, no regular period of admission, etc. A pupil joined the school at any time, became a class by himself, followed his own pace of study, and left the school when he had acquired all that he desired to know or the school had to teach. In bigger schools, there was in vogue a system under which the senior pupils were appointed to teach junior ones. It was this system that attracted the attention of Dr. Bell, the Presidency Chaplain at Madras, and which he introduced in England as a cheap and efficient method of educating the poor. The system later came to be known as the Monitorial or Madras system in England. The curriculum was very narrow and consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic (both written and oral) and accounts. There was no fee in the modern sense, but each parent who sent his child to the school generally made some payment to the teacher—either in cash or in kind. The amount of the payment depended upon the capacity of the parent and even the time and mode of payment were left to his convenience.

The chief merits of the indigenous system of elementary schools were their adaptability to local environment and the vitality and popularity they had earned by centuries of existence under a variety of economic conditions or political vicissitudes. Their main defects were the exclusion of girls and Harijan pupils. To these may be added (although such a judgment suffers from the defect of imposing modern concepts of education upon an earlier period) the lack of training or sound education

among their teachers, their narrow and limited curriculum, and the severe forms of punishment adopted.[1]

(*d*) *The Extent of Mass Education:* It appears that schools, particularly centres of domestic instruction, abounded in every part of the country and that some humble means of instruction or other was available even in very small villages where, for years together, the British administration found it difficult to establish and maintain even a primary school. The percentage of literacy was anything between 8 and 12 among the male adult population, or between 4 and 6 for the population as a whole. Certain of the higher castes were wholly literate in so far as the male adult population was concerned, while the women of all castes (with a very few individual exceptions) and the entire population of several lower castes were wholly illiterate.

(*e*) *Decaying Condition of Indigenous Education:* Another feature that emerges from the study of the sources is that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the indigenous system of education was fast decaying on account of the prevailing anarchy or the growing impoverishment of the people under the British Rule.[2]

14. **Potentialities of the Indigenous System of Education to Develop into a National System of Education by Suitable Extension and Improvement.** The preceding discussion regarding the character and extent of the indigenous system of education brings us to the final point, whether the system had potentialities which made it capable of being developed into a national system of education by suitable improvement and extension. In our opinion it certainly had these potentialities. We are led to this conclusion by two general considerations. Firstly, we find that, in most countries of the world which are now educationally progressive, the national system of education was built up on the foundations of the traditional system—in spite of its admitted and numerous defects. In England, for instance, mass education was spread by gradual expansion and improvement of the defective voluntary schools which already existed. A great authority like Sir Michael Sadler justifies the wisdom of this step and pays a tribute to their valuable contribution to the development of mass education in England.

[1] *Calcutta Review*, No. IV, p. 334.

[2] Nurullah & Naik: *History of Education in India during the British Period*, pp. 42-43.

He says, "Although the teachers were, as a rule, not trained and often unable to impart knowledge, although the buildings were frequently not suitable for schools, the books deficient in numbers and quality, the attendance of the scholars very irregular, yet the *first* step not only had been taken but the children had been accustomed to school life".[1] What the voluntary school did to the cause of mass education in England, the indigenous schools could certainly have done to the cause of education in India as a whole, if only those in authority had seen their way to help them to live, expand and improve.

Secondly, our view is also supported by that of several British officers and workers. Adam, for instance, was thoroughly convinced that a national system of education could be built up in India on the foundation of the indigenous schools. He said:

> To whatever extent such institutions may exist, and in whatever condition they may be found, stationary, advancing, or retrograding, they present the only true and sure foundations on which any scheme of general or national education can be established. We may deepen and extend the foundations; we may improve, enlarge and beautify the superstructure; but these are the foundations on which the building should be raised. All men, particularly uninstructed and half-instructed men, attach the same importance to forms as to substance, and as forms are merely conventional, it is desirable in the work of reform to disembarrass ourselves of opposition founded on the overthrow of ancient forms, and to enlist on our side the prepossessions in favour of their continued use. Besides, there is a probability that those forms, if not at the period of their original adoption, yet by long continued usage are suited to the manners, habits, and general character of the people whom we desire to benefit, and that any other forms which we might seek to establish would in reality be less fitted to supply their place. All schemes for the improvement of education, therefore, to be efficient and permanent, should be based upon the existing institutions of the country, transmitted from time immemorial, familiar to the conceptions of the people and inspiring them with respect and veneration. To labour successfully *for* them, we must labour *with* them; and to labour successfully *with them*, we must get them to labour willingly and intelligently *with us*. We must make them, in short, the instruments of their own improvement; and how can this be done but by identifying ourselves and our improvements with them and their institutions?[2]

Adam, therefore, recommended that—

existing native institutions from the highest to the lowest, of all kinds and classes, were the fittest means to be employed for raising and improving the character of the people, that to employ those institutions for such a purpose would be the simplest, the safest, the most popular, the most economical, and the most effectual plan for giving that stimulus to the native mind which it needs on the subject of education, and

[1] *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 449.
[2] *Adam's Reports*, Calcutta Edition, pp. lviii-ix.

for eliciting the exertions of the natives themselves for their improvement, without which all other means must be unavailing. . .[1]

With these general observations Adam described the proposed working of his plan for the improvement of indigenous schools in the following seven stages:—

(*a*) The first step was to select one or more districts in which the plan could be tried as an experiment.

(*b*) The second step was to hold a thorough educational survey of the district or districts selected more or less on the same lines on which he had conducted his investigations.

(*c*) The third step was to prepare a set of books in modern Indian languages for the use of teachers and pupils.

(*d*) The fourth step was to appoint an Examiner for each district as the chief executive officer of the plan. His duties would be to survey his area, to meet teachers, to explain the books, to conduct examinations, to grant rewards, and generally to be responsible for carrying out the plan successfully.

(*e*) The fifth step was to distribute the books to teachers and stimulate them to study them by the holding of examinations and the granting of rewards to those who passed the tests. Adam also recommended the establishment of Normal schools where teachers of indigenous schools could be encouraged to study from one to three months a year for about four years so that their qualifications could be improved without inconveniencing their pupils.

(*f*) The sixth step was to encourage the teachers to impart the newly acquired knowledge to their pupils by holding examinations for them and by granting rewards.

(*g*) The seventh step was to grant endowments of lands to village schools in order to encourage teachers to settle down in villages and to educate the rural children. Adam pointed out several sources from which such gifts of land could be made or secured by Government.

[1]*Adam's Reports*, Calcutta Edition, pp. 349-50.

Other plans for the development of the indigenous institutions were prepared or suggested by several administrators and educationists, such as Munro, Elphinstone, Thomason, Leitner, and were described in detail in several documents on educational policy such as the Despatch of 1854 or the Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882-83. These will be dealt with in due course. But these proposals mostly went unheeded; the officials of the Education Department allowed the indigenous system to die and spent their time and energy in creating a new system of education, *ab initio.*

Before we end this discussion of the indigenous educational system of India, we would like to point out with pride that the indigenous schools of India contributed the idea of the *monitorial system* to England. Historians talk only of England's contribution to Indian Education and they generally ignore the great contribution which was made by India to the spread of education among the poorer classes of England herself. Dr. Bell, the Presidency Chaplain at Madras, was the first Englishman to realise the value of the Indian system of teaching with the help of monitors—a system that prevailed extensively in the indigenous schools. Dr. Bell realised that the main advantage of the system was to enable the teacher to manage a large number of pupils at a time so that the spread of education could be effected at a very low cost. He, therefore, advocated the adoption of this system in England in a book entitled *An Experiment in Education made at the Male Asylum at Madras, suggesting a system by which a school or a Family may teach itself under the superintendence of the Master or Parent* (1798). This book attracted great attention and eventually the Indian system was almost universally adopted in England. This system, variously described as the Madras system, or the Monitorial system, was the chief method by which England achieved expansion of primary education at a very low cost between 1801 and 1845. It is an irony of fate that the indigenous schools of India should thus contribute to the spread of education in England and be of no avail in spreading mass education in India herself!

The modern educational system in India should have been built upon the foundations of the indigenous system, and the efforts of our educational administrators should have been

directed to the improvement of these institutions and to their incorporation in the modern system of education. But this was never done. On the other hand, some attempts were made to encourage the schools of learning which were admittedly the weaker side of indigenous education, but even these were soon abandoned. The vast network of elementary schools never received the attention it deserved at the hands of Government. In spite of the exhortations of thinkers like Adam, Munro and Thomason, the directions of the Despatch of 1854 and the strong recommendations of the Indian Education Commission, indigenous elementary schools were either killed by ill-planned attempts at reform, or destroyed by deliberate competition, or allowed to die of sheer neglect.

The results have been disastrous. It is true that attempts were made by the officers of the East India Company, and later by the Education Departments, to create a new system of education in India. For several reasons, the process was slow, and it could hardly compensate for the loss of the indigenous schools, with the result that the educational position of India in 1921 was hardly better than that in 1821. In the meanwhile, other nations of the East and West, whose educational advance was equal, or even inferior to that of India in 1821, made such rapid advances that India soon lost her position of vantage in the comity of nations and became one of the most educationally backward countries of the world !

CHAPTER TWO

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY ACCEPTS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE EDUCATION OF INDIANS

(1600-1813)

1. **Proselytizing and Educational Activities of the East India Company (1600-1765).** The East India Company was, in this period, a primarily commercial concern and it is, therefore, not proper to expect it to take any steps for the education of the Indian people. But N. N. Law points out that, even in these early years, the Company was engaged in fostering some proselytizing and educational activities within its possessions. As early as in 1614, steps were taken "for the recruitment of Indians for the propagation of the Gospel among their countrymen and for imparting to these missionaries such education, at the Company's expense, as would enable them to carry out effectively the purposes for which they were enlisted".[1] It is also on record that an Indian youth, christened *Peter* by King James I, was taken to England for education in the Christian doctrine although what he did later on is not known.[2] In 1659, the Court of Directors explicitly stated that it was their earnest desire by all possible means to spread Christianity among the people of India and allowed missionaries to embark on their ships.[3] This evangelical zeal found good support in contemporary England where the Church was experiencing the revival of a deep religious fervour so that, when the Charter of the Company was renewed in 1698, the famous *missionary clause* was inserted in it by Parliament. This clause directed the Company to maintain ministers of religion at their factories in India and to take a Chaplain in every ship of 500 tons or more. The ministers were required to learn the Portuguese language which was then commonly understood by the inferior servants at the factories, and also "to apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants

[1] N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers*, pp. 7-8.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[3] W. H. Sharp: *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, p. 3.

or slaves of the same Company or of their agents, in the Protestant religion".[1] The Charter also directed the Company to maintain schools, wherever necessary, in all their garrisons and bigger factories. The first part of this direction obviously implies that the Company was expected to spread the Gospel amongst all the Hindu employees of the Company at least, if not among the people as a whole.

Can these proselytizing activities be regarded as the beginning of the Company's educational enterprise in India?—is the question often raised. Some historians seem to think that they can be; but it is wrong to equate the *education* of Indians with their *conversion to Christianity*. Such a view was common among the missionaries and the officers of the East India Company at this period. But no educationist can ever subscribe to it and it would be far more correct to hold that these early proselytizing activities of the Company had nothing to do with the education of the Indian people because they did not, in any way, contribute to the modern movement in education that began in India with the Charter Act of 1813.

What then is the importance of the *missionary clause* contained in the Charter Act of 1698? It may be said to have laid the foundation, not of the education of the Indian people, but of the education of the European and Anglo-Indian children who lived in the possessions of the Company. In accordance with the directions of this Charter, Chaplains were appointed in all the three Presidency towns. They regarded it as their pious duty to look after the education of the Christian children and, in particular, after the welfare and education of the Anglo-Indian children born of the Company's soldiers and their Indian wives. These children were generally neglected and the Chaplains were anxious to claim them for the Christian fold and to educate them properly. With this object in view, they collected subscriptions and established *charity schools*. The name was borrowed from England and indicated that the schools were supported by charity and were primarily meant for poor children or orphans.

Thus arose the most important of the charity schools conducted in India during the eighteenth century. Some idea of their working can be had from the detailed account given

[1] Sir C. Ilbert: *Government of India*, p. 29.

by N. N. Law in his interesting book *Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers*. In the years immediately following 1698, the Chaplains of the Company seem to have followed the provisions of the Charter literally and conducted schools in Portuguese which was then the *lingua franca* at the factories of the Company. But the attempt never became popular; it was soon given up and English was adopted as the medium of instruction. The oldest charity school to be established on this new model was *St. Mary's Charity School* at Madras founded by Rev. W. Stevenson in 1715. It was financed by legacies, donations and occasional grants from the Company. In 1719, a charity school was established at Bombay by Rev. Richard Cobbe on the same principles. Chaplain Bellamy of Calcutta founded a similar charity school sometime between 1720 and 1731 and it is on record that a new building was constructed for it in 1739. In 1787, a *Female Orphan Asylum* was opened at Madras and named after Lady Campbell, the wife of the Governor, who took a leading part in collecting funds. In the same year, a *Male Asylum* was also started at Madras by Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell, the Chaplain. This school is of great historical importance because it was here that Dr. Bell tried the *monitorial system* which he later introduced in England.

The East India Company assisted these charity schools in various ways. For instance, it (*a*) sanctioned recurring grants for maintenance; (*b*) permitted lotteries in their support; (*c*) gave non-recurring grants for buildings or provided sites; (*d*) allowed their officers to collect funds or act as school accountants or other office-bearers; (*e*) occasionally repaired the school buildings; and (*f*) accepted the funds of the schools as deposits at comparatively higher rates of interest. But when all is said, it must be admitted that these schools were maintained by subscriptions and donations rather than by the grants sanctioned by the Company.

2. **Educational Policy of the Company between 1765 and 1813.** After 1765 when the Company became a political power in India, its educational policy underwent a change. Hitherto, the Company had restricted its attention to the education of European and Anglo-Indian children. It now began to feel that it must do something for the Indian people. Politically, it was a successor to Hindu and Muslim rulers who encouraged higher

learning in classical languages by (*a*) establishing *madrassahs* and *pathshalas*, (*b*) by giving marks of honour or pecuniary grants to learned *Pandits* and *Moulavis*, or (*c*) by endowing educational institutions for higher religious studies. It was felt that the Company must continue these traditions. Moreover, the Company wanted to educate sons of influential Indians for higher posts under Government and thereby win the confidence of the upper classes and consolidate its rule in India. It was, therefore, felt that the Company should establish some centres of higher learning for the Hindus and the Muslims—a desire that led to the establishment of institutions entirely different from the charity schools. Among these, the most important were the Calcutta Madrassah and the Banaras Sanskrit College.

The *Calcutta Madrassah* was founded by Warren Hastings in order "to conciliate the Mahomedans of Calcutta . . . to qualify the sons of Mahomedan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State, and to produce competent officers for Courts of Justice to which students of the Madrassah on the production of certificates of qualification were to be drafted as vacancies occurred".[1] In the early years, lands yielding Rs. 29,000 (known as Madrassah Mahal) were assigned for the support of the Madrassah. In 1785, the lands were assigned by *Sanad* to Muhammad Muiz-ud-din, the Head of the Madrassah and his successors. But constant complaints regarding inefficiency and mismanagement led finally to the appointment of a European secretary to control the institution and to a guaranteed expenditure of Rs. 30,000 from the State treasury in lieu of assignment in lands.

The *Banaras Sanskrit College* owed its establishment to the same political considerations as had operated in the case of the Calcutta Madrassah and was an attempt to conciliate the Hindu population of the newly acquired territories of the Company. It was founded in 1791 by Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Banaras, who thus explained the considerations that made him undertake the project:—

> Two important advantages seemed derivable from such an establishment· the first to the British name and nation in its tendency towards endearing our Government to the native Hindus; by our exceeding in our attention towards them and their systems, the care shown even by their own native princes . . . The second principal advantage that may be derived from this institution will

[1]A. Howell: *Education in India*, p. 1.

be felt in its effect upon the natives...by preserving and disseminating a knowledge of the Hindu law, and proving a nursery of future doctors and expounders thereof, to assist European judges in the due, regular, and uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit to the body of the people.[1]

In the first year of the college, a grant of Rs. 14,000 was sanctioned and it was then raised to Rs. 20,000 per annum. But as in the case of the Madrassah, the affairs of the college continued to be badly managed by the Pandits and, consequently, a European superintendent was appointed to conduct the institution.

Taken together, the Calcutta Madrassah and the Banaras Sanskrit College show the beginning of the *Orientalist School of Educational Policy.* The followers of this school of thought believed that the Company must not lend any support to missionary enterprise and to proselytization; that it need not make any hasty attempt to teach Western knowledge to the Indian people; that its only duty was to follow in the footsteps of Hindu and Muslim rulers and to encourage classical learning in Sanskrit and Arabic on traditional lines; and that the ancient system of education which the Hindus and Muslims had inherited was good enough for them for all practical purposes. Obviously, this school of thought was dominated by *political* rather than by educational considerations and decided its policies on grounds of *religious neutrality* or the *political expediency of conciliating the people.* But this was a period when politics, and not education, dominated the Indian scene. The Orientalist views were, therefore, readily accepted by the Court of Directors and between 1765 and 1813, the principal object of the educational policy of the Company was to encourage traditional Oriental learning in Sanskrit and Arabic and the bulk of its educational expenditure was incurred on the maintenance of the Calcutta Madrassah and the Banaras Sanskrit College.

3. The Reasons which led the Missionaries to undertake Educational Activities. Side by side with these educational activities conducted by the Company, a number of other educational activities were also organised by missionaries who ordinarily worked under the shadow of its political authority. These institutions are of great significance in the history of education in modern India as pioneers of private enterprise in education and deserve detailed notice.

[1] W. H. Sharp: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 11-12.

Before, however, coming to their history proper, it is necessary to understand why the missionaries undertook educational activities as an integral part of their work in India. The first and foremost object of the missionaries was to convert people to Christianity and one could not expect them to start educational institutions or to work as teachers. In fact, there was a time in early missionary history when the *Home Authorities* of missions refused to support educational institutions and opined that the priests had no business to found schools. But the practical experience of the early missionaries soon convinced them that they had to start schools as an important means of proselytization. As Rev. Dr. D. O. Allen, an eminent missionary of the American Board, observed:

In commencing their operations, missionaries have generally seen the propriety and importance of establishing schools. One reason for them is to educate the minds of the people, so that they may be more capable of understanding and appreciating the facts and evidences, the doctrines and duties of the Scriptures. Another reason for them is to increase the influence of the missionaries with the people, by communicating some advantage which they can appreciate, and by showing that Christianity rests on an intelligent perception of its doctrines, and contains reason for the performance of all its duties. And another reason for such an education, is in its procuring means and opening ways of access to the people, and opportunities of preaching to them. One great difficulty which missionaries often experience, is in obtaining access to the people, in circumstances where Christianity can be made the subject of communication or conversation. In such circumstances schools become very important, as a means of communication with different classes of people, with children and parents, and with men and women. And school-houses also become important as places for becoming acquainted with people, for social intercourse and religious worship. School-houses become chapels under the control of missionaries. Their use for this purpose is often more important than for education.[1]

In the same way, it soon became equally evident that the missions had to conduct schools for the converted population. The early converts to Christianity came mostly from the lowest rung of the Hindu society. They were generally illiterate; and as reading the Bible was held to be essential for salvation, the missionaries were required to establish schools in order to teach the new converts to read and write. For the same reason, they were also compelled to introduce the printing press and to print the Bible in the Indian languages. They had also to start vocational schools and to secure employment under Government to the converts in order to give them a living and a status in society. In fact, the early missionaries found that their work

[1] R. G. Wilder: *Mission Schools in India*, pp. 36-37.

began, rather than ended, with a conversion, and that their main task was not so much the conversion of the people to Christianity as the improvement of the social, cultural and economic condition of the converted people—an object which could only be secured by conducting schools for their education. This duty became all the more urgent because neither the indigenous schools nor the Government schools could admit all the Indian Christian children and they would have remained without any education whatsoever if the missionaries had not organised schools of their own. In short, the missionaries soon realised that schools were both the cause and the effect of proselytization and that educational and missionary work had to be undertaken side by side; and it is out of this realisation that the mission schools of modern India were born.

4. **The Work of the Danish Mission in Madras (1706-92).** The honour of being the first Protestant Missionaries to work in the territories of the East India Company goes to the Danish Mission. The famous pioneers of this Mission—Ziegenbalg and Plustschau started their activities at Tranquebar—a Danish station in the South—in 1706. But since the Danes did not obtain a footing in India, most of the Danish missionaries who succeeded these pioneers "substantially identified themselves with the English colonies in South India, halting where they halted and advancing where they advanced".[1] Other missions that came to India later followed the same policy and, as Richter rightly points out, "modern missionary work in India has as its background and setting the Anglo-Indian Empire; it is intimately connected with the beginnings of that empire; and has extended along with it from one end of the country to the other".[2]

Ziegenbalg and his colleagues did considerable missionary and educational work. For example, a printing press in Tamil was established in 1713. An institution for training teachers was opened at Tranquebar in 1716 and, in the following year, two charity schools were opened in Madras—one for Portuguese and the other for Tamil children. Ziegenbalg died in 1719 but his work was continued by other competent missionaries amongst whom may be mentioned the names of Grundler, Kiernander

[1] J. A. Richter: *A History of Missions in India*, p. 27.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

and Schwartz. In Madras, Grundler started, a little before 1717, "a Portuguese school in the White town and a Malabar school in the Black".[1] In 1742, Kiernander founded charity schools for Eurasians as well as Indians in and near Fort St. David. His work became so well known that Clive invited him to Calcutta where in 1758, he founded a charity school. Kiernander continued to work in Bengal for the rest of his life and did the same pioneer service to that Province which Ziegenbalg did to Madras. But even more important was the work of Schwartz who is looked upon as the pioneer of education in the Province of Madras. He founded a school for European and Eurasian boys at Trichinopoly (about 1772) and an English Charity School at Tanjore with the help of the purse presented to him by Haider Ali of Mysore. With the assistance of John Sulivan, the Resident at Tanjore, he started three schools at Tanjore, Ramnad and Shivganga in 1785 with the object of teaching English to Indian children. These may be said to be the earliest schools for teaching the English language to Indians and Sulivan hoped that they would help "the Company and the people to understand each other" and to "facilitate dealings of all kinds between them".[2] "Christianity was not expressly taught (in these schools); nor were any deceitful methods used to instil Christian doctrines into the pupils' minds".[3] The Court of Directors were enthusiastic about them and sanctioned a grant-in-aid of 250 *pagodas* per annum for each of them.[4]

It will be seen from the above account that the missionaries were conducting, even at this early date, a number of educational institutions in India; and that these institutions differed from those conducted by the Company's Chaplains in a number of ways. The mission schools used Indian languages as media of instruction; they were meant, not only for European and Anglo-Indian children, but for converted Indian children in general; and some of them were meant for Indian children and aimed at teaching the English language as a means of communication between the rulers and the ruled. These distinctive features make the educational enterprise of early missionaries even more

[1] N. N. Law: *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[4] W. H. Sharp: *op. cit.*, Vol. I. pp. 3-4.

important than that of Chaplains. Besides, it was the early missionaries who introduced the printing press in India and began the printing of books in Indian languages.

The Company maintained, throughout this period, an attitude of sympathy with this missionary enterprise. In some cases, they gave financial assistance to the mission schools. But what is even more important, they extended *benevolent protection* and sympathy to all such activities. As Law observes:

> In the seventeenth century, we find the Directors taking the initiative in educational work, but with the arrival of the missionaries in the beginning of the eighteenth century we find a change gradually setting in. They shifted their educational duties to the shoulders of the new-comers, though of course they did not stand aloof altogether. During the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, they gave assistance to schools of various kinds in various ways: they ordered, for instance, their servants at Fort St. David to act in the schools as accountants and occasionally repaired the school buildings. They did not, however, want to have a hand in the actual educational work, so that, up to 1787, all that was done outside Fort St. George, was done by the missionaries either in their capacity as such or as garrison or station chaplains.[1]

5. **The Work of the Serampore Trio and Others in Bengal (1758-1813).** The Danish missionaries who worked in the South in the eighteenth century were indeed lucky because they were able to obtain *benevolent protection* and sympathetic assistance from the East India Company. The missionaries who worked in Bengal, however, were far less fortunate. They had to struggle hard against a hostile attitude and had it not been for the protection given to them by the Dutch Settlements at Serampore and Chinsura, they would hardly have been able to achieve anything at all.

Reference has already been made to the work of Kiernander. He was not only the pioneer missionary in Bengal, but had also the good fortune to obtain sympathetic treatment from the Company. He was followed by Dr. Carey, a representative of the Baptist Missionary Society, in 1793. He worked for a time at Calcutta; but owing to difficulties, finally shifted to Malda where he superintended an indigo factory and used all his spare time in translating the New Testament into Bengali, holding daily religious services for the servants on the estate, preaching among the neighbouring villagers and in supervising a school he had established. In 1799, two other missionaries—Ward and Marshman—arrived in Calcutta. Their original object was to join Carey in his work in North Bengal; but they found that the

[1]N. N. Law: *op. cit.*, p. 33.

East India Company would not permit them to do so. They, therefore, persuaded Carey to join them and decided to settle down at the Dutch Settlement of Serampore which was only about 15 miles from Calcutta and where the Dutch Governor gave them all the protection they needed. Thus came into existence the famous *Serampore Trio*. Indeed, these three friends formed an excellent combination for mission work because Carey was a great propagandist, Ward was a printer and Marshman was a school teacher. They translated and printed the Bible in several languages and also issued a number of tracts on useful subjects. In this connection, Sherring observes:

> In no country in the world, and in no period in the history of Christianity, was there ever displayed such an amount of energy in the translation of the Sacred Scriptures from their originals into other tongues, as was exhibited by a handful of earnest men in Calcutta and Serampore in the first ten years of the present century. By their own industry and that of others in various parts of India who had caught from them inspiration for the work, during this short period, portions of the Bible, chiefly of the New Testament, had been translated, and actually printed, in thirty-one Indian languages and dialects. One is amazed, and almost overwhelmed, at the stupendousness of this undertaking. It cannot be supposed that these first attempts are to be compared with the versions which have been subsequently made in these languages. But this must not diminish the intense admiration we ought to feel towards men of such boldness of design, and such astounding energy of execution. Not content with their labours in this direction, they also published a great multitude of tracts, the Serampore press alone issuing them in twenty languages, and, in addition, books for schools and colleges.[1]

In addition to this work of translating and printing the Bible, the Serampore Trio also conducted several schools for boys and girls at Serampore, Calcutta and other outlying stations.

On the whole, the Serampore Trio did not come into any serious conflict with the officials of the Company except on one occasion. In 1808, they published certain tracts called *Addresses to Hindus and Mahomedans*. These were so worded as to offend the religious sentiments of the Indian people and, therefore, the Company prohibited their circulation within its territories. It really wanted to take some more drastic action and directed that their press should be removed to Calcutta so as to bring it under the proper control of the Company's officials. This would have been a great blow to their work; but the Danish Governor intervened and finally, the earlier order was withdrawn and the Trio were directed to "submit works intended for circulation

[1] M. A. Sherring: *The History of Protestant Missions in India*, p. 75.

in the Company's territories to the inspection of its officers".[1] This incident made them more careful in their proselytization although it did not affect their educational activities in any way.

As pointed out by Richter in the following extract, the extent and volume of mission work in India was very small even in 1813.

Taken all in all, it was a day of small things. About 1812, there existed mission stations at Serampore (still in the hands of the Danes) whence Calcutta was worked; out-stations of the Baptists of Dinajpur, in the indigo district, where Carey had laboured before settling in Serampore; and at Jessore, in the well-watered delta-district of Eastern Bengal. The London Missionary Society was busy in Dutch Chinsura and at Vizagapatam. In Madras and the Tamil country no new work had as yet sprung up alongside that of the veteran fathers of the Danish Mission. In the Kanarese country there was only the solitary station of Bellary, and that had been founded in 1812. In Bombay the first missionaries of a non-English Society, the American Board, had after great anxiety just managed to obtain a foothold. The only seed which appeared to be sprouting hopefully was the work of the Ringeltaube in Southern Travancore.[2]

6. **Change in the Company's Attitude to Missionary Enterprise.** This slow growth of missionary enterprise prior to 1813 was due to several causes, the most important of which was probably the hostile attitude of the East India Company. As shown already in Section 2 *supra*, the attitude of the Company was generally favourable to missionary enterprise prior to 1765. But a change began to come about as soon as the Company became a political power in India. The acquisition of sovereignty made the Company conscious of the political importance of maintaining strict religious neutrality and this realisation made it abandon all its earlier inclinations towards proselytization and to lose all its former sympathy for missionary enterprise. As the Company's empire began to grow, it became more and more particular to maintain religious neutrality and to sever all connection with missionary enterprise. Incidents like that of the Sepoy Mutiny at Vellore strengthened these ideas and by about 1800, the East India Company became a staunch opponent of all attempts at proselytization and tried to keep the missionaries out of its territories as far as possible. In the same way, the adoption of the Orientalist policy in education between 1781 and 1791 deprived the mission schools of the sympathy and support of the Company which they had enjoyed so far.

[1] M. A. Sherring: *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[2] J. A. Richter: *op. cit.*, p. 49.

The missionaries did not like these changes and began to criticise the new policies and to plead for a return to the old days. As early as in 1793, when the Charter of the Company came up for renewal, Wilberforce moved the following Resolution in the House of Commons:—

That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the British Legislature to promote by all just and prudent means the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British Dominions in India; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge and to their religious and moral improvement.[1]

But Wilberforce realised that a pious resolution like this had no administrative value; and hence he proposed to insert a clause in the Company's Charter to the effect that

the Court of Directors of the Company shall be empowered and commissioned to nominate and send out from time to time sufficient number of skilled and suitable persons who shall attain the aforesaid object by serving as schoolmasters, missionaries, or otherwise.[2]

The Court of Directors opposed this violently. They had now fully realised the importance of the policy of religious neutrality in consolidating their empire in India and also knew that the missionary with his excessive zeal for conversions invariably got into trouble with the Indian people. Nor were they apparently anxious to undertake the duty of educating the Indian people even apart from giving them religious guidance as desired by Wilberforce. For political and financial reasons, therefore, they urged that "the Hindus had as good a system of faith and of morals as most people and that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give them any more learning or any other description of learning than what they already possessed,"[3] and the proposal of Wilberforce was negatived by Parliament.

This defeat gave a great set-back to missionary enterprise. The Company's position on the missionary issue was now greatly strengthened and it began to put all possible obstacles in the path of the missionaries who worked in its dominions. This active hostility of the Company enraged the missionaries who, in their turn, began to criticise, not only the anti-missionary policy of the Company, but its political and commercial undertakings and even the personal conduct of its officials.

[1] J. A. Richter: *op. cit.*, p. 149.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

[3] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, p. 17.

The following passage from Richter will give the reader an idea of the nature of such criticism:—

> Further, the English officials had, almost without exception, abandoned the principles of Christian morality. Even a Governor-General like Warren Hastings and his inconvenient rival, Philip Francis, were not ashamed to live in open adultery. Their sole connection with the Church was that once a year, at Christmas or at Easter, they attended divine service in great state... Over-zealous Orientalists, moreover, sang the praises of the religions of the East, especially of the then newly discovered Indian religions and systems of philosophy, and even if every one did not go so far as to declare them to be better and truer than Christianity, still the general opinion was that they were quite good enough for the Hindus, and better adapted to their necessities than Western forms of religion. Besides all this the Company took up the narrow-minded point of view that it would have no European within its territories who was not engaged in its service or who did not hold its passport; if any such person were allowed, he would probably enter into business relationships behind its back and thus lessen its gains: or he might talk about its methods of colonial government on his return home, and there were many things which there was every reason to keep concealed from European eyes and ears.[1]

The relations between the missionaries and the officials of the Company became, therefore, extremely strained after 1793.

It may be said without fear of exaggeration that, between 1793 and 1813, the Company did not ordinarily issue a permit to any missionary to work within its territories, expelled several missionaries as soon as they became active and tried to convert people, put every obstacle possible in the way of the missionaries, and did not give any assistance even to mission schools. In India, the missionaries were powerless to fight against this policy. They and their friends, therefore, began an intensive agitation in England with the object of persuading Parliament to legislate on the matter and give the necessary freedom and assistance to missionaries. The foremost among those who thus agitated was Charles Grant—the father of modern education in India.

7. **Grant's Observations.** The ideas of Charles Grant on the subject of the education of the Indian people were typically missionary and can be best illustrated by quotations from his *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals; and the means of improving it.* The first point in his thesis was to make the

[1] J. A. Richter: *op. cit.*, p. 132.

English people realise the utterly *immoral* and wretched condition of Indian Society. He wrote:—

In the worst parts of Europe there are no doubt a great number of men who are sincere, upright and conscientious. In Bengal, a man of real veracity and integrity is a great phenomenon; one conscientious in the whole of his conduct, it is to be feared, is an unknown character ... Power entrusted to a native of Hindoostan seldom fails of being exercised tyrannically, or perverted to the purpose of injustice. Official or ministerial employments of all sorts, and in all gradations are generally used as means of peculation... The distribution of justice.... has commonly become a traffic in venality; the best cause being obliged to pay for success, and the worst having the opportunity of purchasing it..... Such is the power of money, that no crime is more frequent, hardly any less thought of, than perjury... The apathy with which a Hindoo views all persons and interests unconnected with himself, is such as excites the indignation of Europeans... Patriotism is absolutely unknown in Hindoostan.[1]

Can all this be literally true? Admittedly, the state of affairs was not quite happy in those last decades of the eighteenth century when the whole country was in the grip of the anarchy that followed the decay of the Mughal Empire. "It was a period when life and property were always in danger and when it was risky to confide even in one's dearest friend or relation; when learning was at a discount, appalling ignorance and superstition prevailed in the land, and the people were harassed by thugs, pindarees or mercenaries in alien employment".[2] Even after making due allowance for this unhappy background, one cannot but feel that Grant is exaggerating the evils. It is the more easy to think so because such keen observers as Elphinstone, Munro and Metcalfe who came in contact with all sections of Indian society have nowhere expressed a wholesale condemnation of the morals of the average Indian. One may, however, pardon Grant's exaggerations because his motives were honourable and his exaggeration of the existing conditions was solely due to his anxiety to awaken an apathetic British public to a realisation of the extreme urgency for organising the education of the Indian people.

After having painted this exaggerated picture of the *depraved* condition of the Indian Society, Grant proceeds to analyse its causes and to suggest a remedy. According to Grant, the causes of the miserable condition of the Indian people were two: ignorance and want of a *proper* religion. He, therefore,

[1] M. R. Paranjpe: *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education*, pp. viii-ix.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. viii.

felt that the situation could only be improved if Indians were first educated and finally converted to Christianity. He said:—

The true cure of darkness is the introduction of light. The Hindoos err, because they are ignorant; and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge to them, would prove the best remedy for their disorders; and this remedy is proposed, from a full conviction that if judiciously and patiently applied, it would have great and happy effects upon them, effects honourable and advantageous for us.[1]

The question naturally arose: What should be the medium through which this Western *light and knowledge* should be communicated to the Indian people? Grant suggested that the English language should be adopted as the medium of instruction. He said:—

There are two ways of making this communication: the one is, by the medium of the languages of those countries; the other is, by the medium of our own. In general, when foreign teachers have proposed to instruct the inhabitants of any country, they have used the Vernacular tongue of that people, for a natural and necessary reason, that they could not hope to make any other means of communication intelligible to them. This is not our case in respect of our Eastern dependencies. They are our own, we have possessed them long; many Englishmen reside among the Natives, our language is not unknown there, and it is practicable to diffuse it more widely. The choice, therefore, of either mode, lies open to us; and we are at liberty to consider which is entitled to preference...

The acquisition of a foreign language is, to men of cultivated minds, a matter of no great difficulty. English teachers could, therefore, be sooner qualified to offer instruction in the native languages, than the Indians would be prepared to receive it in ours. This method would hence come into operation more speedily than the other; and it would also be attended with the advantage of a more careful selection of the matter of instruction. But it would be far more confined and less effectual; it may be termed a species of deciphering. The decipherer is required to unfold, in intelligible words, what was before hidden. Upon every new occasion, he has a similar labour to perform, and the information obtained from him is limited to the single communication then made. All other writings, in the same character still remain, to those who are ignorant of it, unknown; but if they are taught the character itself, they can at once read every writing in which it is used. Thus superior in point of ultimate advantage does the employment of the English language appear; and upon this ground, we give a preference to that mode, proposing here, that the communication of our knowledge shall be made by the medium of our own language...

We proceed, then, to observe, that it is perfectly in the power of this country, by degrees, to impart to the Hindoos our language; afterwards, through that medium, to make them acquainted with our easy literary compositions, upon a variety of subjects; and, let not the idea hastily excite derision, progressively with the simple elements of our arts, our philosophy, and religion. These acquisitions would silently undermine, and at length subvert, the fabric of error; and all the objections that may be apprehended against such a change, are, it is confidently believed, capable of a solid answer...

[1]Syed Mahmood: *History of English Education in India*, p. 11.

It would be extremely easy for Government to establish, at a moderate expense, in various parts of the provinces, places of gratuitous instruction in reading and writing English; multitudes, especially of the young, would flock to them; and the easy books used in teaching, might at the same time convey obvious truths on different subjects. The teachers should be persons of knowledge, morals, and discretion; and men of this character could impart to their pupils much useful information in discourse: and to facilitate the attainment of that object, they might, at first make some use of the Bengalese tongue. The Hindoos would, in time, become teachers of English themselves; and the employment of our language in public business, for which every political reason remains in full force, would, in the course of another generation, make it very general throughout the country. There is nothing wanting to the success of this plan, but the hearty patronage of Government. If they wish it to succeed, it can and must succeed. The introduction of English in the Administration of the Revenue, in Judicial proceedings, and in other business of Government, wherein Persian is now used; and the establishment of free schools, for instruction in this language, would insure its diffusion over the country, for the reason already suggested that the interest of the Natives would induce them to acquire it. Neither would much confusion arise, even at first, upon such a change; for there are now a great number of Portuguese and Bengalese clerks in the provinces, who understand both the Hindoostanny and English languages. To employ them in drawing up petitions to Government, or its officers, would be no additional hardship upon the poorer people, who are now assisted in that way by Persian clerks; and the opportunity afforded to others who have sufficient leisure, of learning the language of the Government gratuitously, would be an advantage never enjoyed under Mahomedan Rulers.

With our language, much of our useful literature might, and would, in time, be communicated. The art of printing would enable us to disseminate our writings in a way the Persians never could have done, though their compositions had been as numerous as ours. Hence the Hindoos would see the great use we make of reason on all subjects, and in all affairs; they also would learn to reason, they would become acquainted with the history of their own species, the past and present state of the world; their affections would gradually become interested by various engaging works, composed to recommend virtue, and to deter from vice; the general mass of their opinions would be rectified; and above all, they would see a better system of principles and morals. New views of duty, as rational creatures, would open upon them; and that mental bondage in which they have long been holden would gradually dissolve.[1]

Regarding the subjects of instruction, some suggestions of Grant can be noted in the passage, quoted above. In addition to these, Grant suggested that special emphasis should be laid on the teaching of natural sciences in order to break down the superstitious beliefs prevalent among the people and on the teaching of the use of mechanical inventions in order to bring about agricultural and industrial development of the country. However, the most precious subject of instruction, according to Grant, was the Christian religion.

[1]Syed Mahmood: *op. cit.*, pp. 11-13.

After putting forward this scheme for the education of the Indian people, Grant proceeded to answer some of the probable objections that would be raised against it. The first and the foremost objection was that English education was politically dangerous and that if the Indian people were taught the English language and ideas, they would rise up in a revolt, cast off their subjection and assert their independence. Grant was not frightened of such a contingency and would not agree to keep the Indian people in ignorance with a view merely to perpetuating their slavery. He felt that it was the clear *duty* of England to educate Indians. He also held that it was really in the best interests of England herself to educate the Hindus and Muslims. Such education would bring about better understanding between the rulers and the ruled, would secure the gratitude of the Indian people, and would ultimately lead to greater extension of British commerce in India. He was, therefore, of the opinion that no misgivings should be allowed to come in the way and that, on grounds of duty as well as of self-interest, the English people should organise the education of the Indians on as large a scale as possible.

8. **Criticism of Grant's Proposals.** On the whole, Grant's book is not pleasant to read. A large part of it is taken up by the delineation of the Indian Society of the period and the exaggerations and the one-sided approach of this description rob it alike of historical and educational value. In the same way, no Indian would agree to Grant's view that mass conversions to Christianity alone could regenerate Indian Society. Similarly, Grant's view that the spread of English education would slowly but necessarily make the Indian people accept Christianity has also been disapproved by the history of the last one hundred and fifty years. Finally, no importance can now be attached to the long and elaborate discussions where Grant advances ridiculous arguments to show that no political dangers can follow from English education or proselytization. Some of these arguments, for instance, are: "Christian teaching favours submission and good order among the people"; "Christianity cannot overcome the debilitating effects of an Eastern climate"; "Vegetable diet and absence of maritime taste among the Hindus will check ardent designs of independence"; "Political liberty cannot flourish among the timid submissive people of India", etc.[1]

[1]Syed Mahmood: *op. cit.*, pp. 216-18.

But the suggestions of Grant regarding the organisation of the education of the Indian people are of great historical interest. It is very significant that, even as early as in 1792, Grant foresaw the future developments in Indian education so clearly. He suggested the adoption of English as the language of Government —a decision which was ultimately taken by Bentinck about forty years later. He also suggested the adoption of English as a medium of instruction—an educationally unsound but curiously prophetic proposal that was accepted later on through the able advocacy of Macaulay. He correctly diagnosed the eagerness of the Indian people to learn the English language and rightly foretold that multitudes of the young would flock to the English schools and that Indians themselves would, in course of time, be teachers of English. It is because of these practical and prophetic suggestions that Grant's book still retains its interest and it is because of them that Grant is sometimes described as the father of modern education in India.

In educating contemporary English opinion on the subject and in making Parliament realise the urgent necessity of organising the education of the Indian people, the *Observations* played a very important role. The book was published in 1797 and its copies were broadcast. Friends of the missionaries made it the basis of their agitation and argued that the Company was following a wrong and an un-Christian policy in refusing to allow missionaries to work in its territories. The prestige of Grant as one who had known India at first hand, as an influential Director of the Company, and a Member of Parliament lent weight to the book and ultimately paved the way for the educational clauses of the Charter Act of 1813.

9. **Agitation by Company's Officials.** *Minto's Minute:* While the missionaries were thus agitating in England for a change in the Company's educational policy, the officials of the Company in India were also agitating for a bolder move in expanding Oriental education. They felt that the maintenance of the Calcutta Madrassah and the Banaras Sanskrit College was like a drop in the ocean; they grieved at the decay into which Hindu and Muslim learning had fallen and asked for larger funds and a more vigorous drive to revive and improve the classical learning of this ancient country. As a typical statement on the subject,

a reference may be made to the Minute of Lord Minto who was the Governor-General of India from 1806 to 1813. Minto was personally an admirer of Oriental Literature and felt that its study would be useful to the Western nations themselves. He was, therefore, very anxious that Englishmen should give all possible encouragement to the study and preservation of Indian Culture. In a Minute, dated 6th March, 1811, he wrote:—

It is a common remark that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India. From every inquiry which I have been enabled to make on this interesting subject, that remark appears to me but too well founded. The number of the learned is not only diminished, but the circle of learning, even among those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequence of this state of things is the disuse, and even actual loss, of many valuable books; and it is to be apprehended that, unless Government interfere with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless from a want of books, or of persons capable of explaining them.

The principal cause of the present neglected state of literature in India is to be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains, and opulent individuals under the native governments. Such encouragement must always operate as a strong incentive to study and literary exertions, but especially in India, where the learned professions have little, if any other, support...

It is seriously to be lamented that a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the empire should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindoos, and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature.[1]

The officials of the Company, therefore, tried to pull exactly in the opposite direction and a violent controversy ensued between the friends and supporters of the Missions on the one hand and the Orientalists or Company's officials on the other.

10. **The Charter Act of 1813.** It was against such a background that the Charter of the Company came up for renewal in 1813. Among others, the most important educational issues discussed on this occasion were the following:—

(a) Should missionaries be allowed to go to India and work in the territories of the Company for the education and proselytization of the Indian people?

(b) Should the Company accept responsibility for the education of the Indian people? If it should, what should be the nature and scope of its educational activities?

[1]*Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company* (1832), Appendix 1, pp. 325-27.

On the first of these issues, the missionaries and their friends scored a clean victory. As Richter observes:—

> The 13th Resolution, the one in which the whole missionary question was really involved, ran as follows: 'Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee that it is the duty of this country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and moral improvement. That in furtherance of the above objects sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, or remaining in, India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs'. That meant that the missionaries were to be allowed to enter India and to reside there; they might preach, found churches, and discharge all spiritual duties; in a word, they might fulfil their missionary calling in its completest and widest sense. . .[1]

On the second issue, the principal opposition to acceptance of responsibility came from the Directors. In those days, education was not regarded as a responsibility of the State even in England; and very naturally, the East India Company was not prepared to accept it in India. Secondly, the Company was influenced more by financial than by philanthropic motives and resisted all attempts to increase obligations having a tendency to cut down the dividends. Thirdly, the people of India themselves were most apathetic in the matter. Oppressed by the anarchy that followed the decay of the Moghal Empire, their one great need was the establishment of law and order and they hardly had the time or energy to ask for anything else from their rulers. The task of making the Company accept responsibility for the education of the Indian people was, therefore, far from easy. But the opponents of the *mission clauses* felt an urgent need of creating a powerful and rival agency in Indian education to counteract the results of missionary enterprise. They, therefore, moved and successfully carried through a resolution which subsequently became the 43rd Section in the Charter. It is quoted below:

> It shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil and commercial establishments and paying the interest of the debt, in manner hereinafter provided, a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the science among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.[2]

The sponsors of this Section were obviously influenced by the Oriental School of thought because they spoke of the *revival*

[1] J. A. Richter: *op. cit.*, pp. 150-1.
[2] W. H. Sharp: *op. cit.*, p. 22.

and improvement of literature (which referred to the Classical literatures in Sanskrit or Arabic) and of *encouragement of the learned natives of India.* But they were also anxious to teach western science because the Indian people of this period were most ignorant in them and desired that attempts should be made to promote *a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.* The principal implication of this clause was that the Company would create its own agency to spend this amount of a lakh of rupees and try to educate the people of India in a *secular* and *conservative* fashion as opposed to the proselytizing and revolutionary proposals of the missionaries. The supporters of this resolution believed that "by fostering both Oriental and Occidental science. . .a reliable counterpoise, a protecting breakwater against the threatened deluge of missionary enterprise"[1] would be created. They little dreamed that this Section of the Act was laying the foundation of a state educational system in India which would fuse both the Government and missionary schools into a common structure in due course.

The Charter Act of 1813, therefore, forms a turning point in the history of Indian education. With it, the agitation which Grant and Wilberforce carried on for nearly twenty years came to a successful conclusion; the education of the Indian people was definitely included within the duties of the Company; a comparatively large amount was annually secured for educational activities; and missionaries began to land in India in large numbers and establish English schools, thereby laying the foundation of the modern educational system.

[1] J. A. Richter: *op. cit.*, p. 152.

CHAPTER THREE

OFFICIAL EXPERIMENTS IN EDUCATION (1813-53)

1. **General Features of the Period.** The forty years between the Charter Act of 1813 which merely compelled the East India Company to accept responsibility for the education of the Indian people and the Despatch of 1854 which prescribed an educational policy for India in detail, form the second important period in the history of education in India during the British Rule. The main events of this period will be narrated in this and the following chapter; but in order to understand them in their proper perspective, it is necessary to study some important general features of this period.

(*a*) This period was mainly one of conquest and consolidation of the British power in India. The attention of the Court of Directors or of Parliament was, therefore, focused, throughout this period, on political issues such as the relations with Indian Princes, waging of wars and signing of treaties, and the setting up of a police and military administration in the newly conquered areas with a view to maintaining law and order. Education was, therefore, a back-bench subject which came up for discussion at infrequent intervals and which was allotted only a meagre portion of the total administrative expenditure. This general neglect of Indian education by the Court of Directors and Parliament is the principal cause of its slow progress.

(*b*) Another feature of this period which deserves notice is the absence of *educationists* to deal with the problems of Indian education. The Education Departments did not exist at the time—they were created only in 1854. The problems of Indian education were, therefore, dealt with, as they arose, by the Governors-General or Governors or by the members of the Education Boards, Councils and Committees which came to be set up. These were mostly military or civil officers who had no professional training and, very often, not even an aptitude for education. Some of them, it is true, were men of wide sympathies and a humane culture and, with their robust common

sense, laid down such broad-based and unerring educational policies as might do credit to any professional educationist. But these exceptions only prove the rule and it cannot be gainsaid that, throughout this period, the educational problems of India were mostly handled by amateurs—the civil and military officers of the Company—working in an honorary capacity. The benefits of a professionally trained and wholetime bureaucracy were denied to education during this period and this is one of the principal reasons why the educational controversies of this period were so bitter, so protracted and so often wrongly decided.

(*c*) The third feature is the extremely minor role played by Indians in building up the new system of education in this period. At the policy-drafting level, the voice of Indians hardly mattered. It is true that men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishvarachandra Vidyasagar or Jagannath Shankarset did participate in policy-drafting and, in some matters, even succeeded in winning a point or two. But in spite of such instances, it would still be correct to say that, prior to 1854, educational policies in India were discussed or decided almost exclusively by officials of the Company or the missionaries. This could hardly be helped because the number of educated Indians (*i.e.*, educated in accordance with the modern system) was very small and an enlightened Indian opinion had not yet come into existence.

(*d*) The fourth feature of this period is the existence of a large number of controversies. In fact, it may even be described as a period of controversies rather than of achievements. This unhappy result was partly due to the three features already described and partly to the vagueness of the Charter Act of 1813 itself. The framers of this Act had no precedent to follow because, at this time, even England did not have either an Education Department or a State policy in education. They, therefore, contented themselves by stating the *objects* of the educational policy in India, *viz.*, "the revival and improvement of literature", "the encouragement of the learned natives of India", and "the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of British territories in India"; but they gave no directions regarding the *methods* to be employed to secure these objects. It was but natural, therefore, that controversies should arise on the subject, and the events of the forty years following the Charter Act of 1813, showed that controversies

arose round four main issues, *viz.*, the *objects* of educational policy, the *medium* of instruction, the *agencies* for organising educational institutions, and the *methods* to be adopted to spread education among the people.

Regarding the *objects* of educational policy, the controversies were not serious and referred mainly to the emphasis to be laid on the different objectives of educational effort. One school of thought talked of the *duty* of England to educate its Indian subjects; another school emphasized the introduction and spread of western literature and science among the Indian people as of paramount importance; and a third school spoke mainly of the utilitarian objective of training Indians to hold subordinate positions in the Company's service.

Regarding the *agencies* to be utilised for organising educational institutions, opinions differed considerably. Some favoured encouragement of missionary enterprises on the analogy of Parliamentary grants to the voluntary schools in England. Others objected to this proposal on political grounds and on the principle of religious neutrality—because the missionaries aimed at conversions, first and foremost—and recommended the encouragement of indigenous schools conducted by the Indian people themselves. A third point of view condemned the indigenous schools as inefficient and incapable of improvement and recommended the establishment of new schools which should have properly trained teachers and which should work under the direct control of the Company.

On the subject of the *methods* to be adopted to spread education among the people, opinion was divided between two schools of thought. One school believed that education always filters down to the masses from the upper classes. It, therefore, felt that the Company need only educate the upper classes of society and leave it to them to spread education among the masses. This was the famous *downward filtration theory*. The other school felt that the downward filtration theory would not work in India and recommended that the Company should make direct attempts to educate the masses.

The most violent controversies, however, broke out on the subject of *the medium of instruction*. Here the opinion was divided among three schools:

(*i*) The first school consisted of the older officials of the Company in Bengal who generally believed that the policy of

Warren Hastings and Minto was the last word on educational statesmanship. They advocated the encouragement of Sanskrit and Arabic studies and suggested that Western science and knowledge should be spread in India through the medium of these languages.

(*ii*) The second school consisted of men like Munro and Elphinstone who believed in encouraging education through the medium of the modern Indian languages. They argued that this was the only way in which western knowledge could reach the *mass* of the people.

(*iii*) The third school consisted of persons who believed in the wisdom of Grant's advice and advocated the spread of Western knowledge through the medium of English. This school included the missionaries and the younger civilians in the employment of the Company. Their voice, though insignificant during the earlier period, became of paramount importance at a later date, when Macaulay came to India and assumed their leadership.

It must be noted that all these controversies and schools of thought were found mostly among the European officials of the Company. Indian opinion was, at this time, almost non-existent. In the first place, the number of Indians who could take part in discussions regarding educational policies was extremely small; secondly, the few Indians who had the authority and influence to speak on this subject generally followed one or other of the groups among the European officers and were not as yet able to chalk out any policy of their own; and lastly, Indian opinion wielded no influence with the Company and educational policies were made and unmade according to the rise or fall of the parties among the European servants of the Company alone.

As may be anticipated, the only authority which could silence these controversies was that of the Court of Directors. Had they given a definite ruling on the subject, all the servants of the Company would have been compelled to accept it and the development of education in India would have been more rapid and harmonious. But prior to 1853, the Directors seemed unwilling to come to a definite decision. In effect, they agreed with each school and differed from all. This policy, or the lack of one, has been often ascribed to indifference; but this conclusion does not appear to be fair. We would rather attribute it to a desire on the Directors' part to give a trial to

every method. The Despatch of 1854, however, gave a definite ruling on all these controversies and settled them almost finally.

(*e*) One more general feature of this period may be noted here. This was, first and foremost, a period of experiments. The East India Company was new to problems of Indian education and, therefore, was trying to arrive at a workable formula through the usual method of *trial and error.* The Court of Directors kept an open mind on the subject and, in the initial stages, sanctioned every proposal that came up. We, therefore, find different educational experiments going on simultaneously in India—Thomason trying to build up a system of mass education in the North-Western Province on the foundation of the indigenous schools, while the Bombay Board of Education condemned the indigenous schools and tried to build up a network of official schools instead; Bengal was neglecting the Indian languages and adopting English as a medium of instruction when Bombay was making an attempt to give even the highest education through the mother-tongue of the students; and so on. On a superficial view, these appear as contradictory policies; but such experimentation was definitely essential. It helped materially in coming to final decisions on controversial issues.

It is against this background of general apathy, amateurish handling of problems, the utter neglect (or rather, absence) of an Indian viewpoint and complete domination by certain controversies that the first experiments of the Company to create an educational system for India are to be interpreted and understood.

2. **Official Efforts in India (1813-23).** With these introductory remarks, we will turn to the narration of the events of the period under review. We shall first describe the official efforts of the Company and then turn to the non-official efforts—both missionary and non-missionary.

As was pointed out in the last chapter, the Court of Directors had fought strenuously against the reforms proposed by Wilberforce and lost. They were, therefore, none too enthusiastic to spend the sum of one lakh of rupees on education as required by the Charter Act of 1813. But owing partly to the continuous agitation carried on by the missionaries and the Company's officials and partly to the influence of the liberal spirit which

dominated the English life of this period, the work of organising a state system of education was begun almost simultaneously in all the three presidencies by about 1823 and continued to expand till 1833 when, following the English example of the first Parliamentary grant for education, the educational grant of India was also increased from one lakh to ten lakhs of rupees per annum.

3. **Official Education Enterprise in India between 1823 and 1853.** In 1853, the British territories in India were divided into five Provinces—the *Presidencies* of Bengal, Bombay, Madras and the *Provinces* of U. P. (then called the North-Western Provinces) and the Punjab. The principal landmarks in official educational enterprise in India between 1823 and 1853 can, therefore, be conveniently stated according to Provinces.

4. **The Presidency of Bengal** was the first Province to take up the work of educational reorganisation which was made possible by the liberal attitude which the Court of Directors adopted by about 1823. In a Resolution dated 17th July, 1823, the Governor-General-in-Council appointed a *General Committee of Public Instruction* for the Bengal Presidency. The Committee consisted of ten members and included H. T. Prinsep, who became famous later on by his opposition to Macaulay, and H. H. Wilson who was a great Oriental scholar. The grant of one lakh of rupees provided by the Charter Act of 1813 was also placed at the disposal of the Committee.

The Committee consisted mostly of persons who were great admirers of Sanskrit and Arabic literature and hence the decision of the Committee to follow the view of Lord Minto and encourage Oriental Learning can hardly be regarded with surprise. Between 1823 and 1833, the Committee

(*a*) reorganised the Calcutta Madrassah and the Banaras Sanskrit College;
(*b*) established a Sanskrit College at Calcutta in 1824;
(*c*) established two more Oriental Colleges at Agra and Delhi;
(*d*) undertook the printing and publication of Sanskrit and Arabic books on a large scale; and
(*e*) employed Oriental scholars to translate English books containing useful knowledge into the Oriental classical languages.

But very soon after its establishment the Committee found that its work had roused considerable opposition. The first attack came from a few enlightened Indians led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The Raja submitted a memorial to the Governor-General on 11th December, 1823 and urged that the proposals for establishing a Sanskrit College at Calcutta should be abandoned and Government should "promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction; embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, with other useful sciences; which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe and providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments, and other apparatus".[1] This memorial is a good indication of the direction in which the wind was beginning to blow and shows how the desire for English education was spreading among Indians. But no heed was paid to this memorial and the plan for establishing the Sanskrit College at Calcutta was carried out.

A still more formidable attack on the Committee's work came from the Court of Directors themselves. In a despatch, dated 18th February, 1824, they wrote:—

We apprehend that the plan of the institutions to the improvement of which our attention is now directed was originally and fundamentally erroneous. The great end should not have been to teach Hindoo learning, but useful learning. No doubt in teaching useful learning to the Hindoos or Mahomedans, Hindoo *media* or Mahomedan *media*, so far as they were found the most effectual, would have been proper to be employed and Hindoo and Mahomedan prejudices would have needed to be consulted while everything which was useful in Hindoo or Mahomedan literature it would have been proper to retain; nor would there have been any insuperable difficulty in introducing under these reservations a system of instruction from which great advantage might have been derived. In professing on the other hand to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindoo or mere Mahomedan literature, you bound yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned.[2]

This despatch set the Committee thinking. "The Directors urged a bold advance and were backed up, not very zealously, by the Governor-General. The Committee, in close touch with the majority of public opinion and the view of the *pandits*, hesitated to embark on so large a measure of innovation."[3] It urged that the Hindus and Mahomedans still had "vigorous

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, p. 101.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 91-2.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

prejudices" against European learning, that Oriental literature was not to be summarily condemned and that it had a utility of its own, that the use of a classical language as a medium of instruction was unavoidable, that there were neither books nor teachers available just then to impart instruction in European sciences through such a medium, that the Committee was concentrating on the preparation of such books and the training of such teachers, and that, ere long, the Directors' instructions would be fully complied with. The plea was accepted by the Directors and the Committee continued its work of encouraging classical education.

But public opinion was rapidly growing in favour of English education. Several factors contributed to this end. The work of the missionaries had greatly popularised English education. Secondly, Indian leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy were also urging their countrymen to study the language and literature of England and through it, to acquire a knowledge of the Western sciences. Thirdly, English was growing in political importance as the language of the rulers and persons desirous of obtaining lucrative posts under Government found that a capacity to speak and write English materially helped them in their object. In fact, the study of English was rapidly becoming the royal road to a black-coated profession with a decent income and an important status in society. It is not to be wondered, therefore, if many Indians of that generation looked forward to English education as a panacea for all their ills.

This growing demand for English could not, therefore, be long neglected by the General Committee of Public Instruction and steps had to be taken to meet it to some extent at least. Thus by 1833, the Committee attached English classes to the College at Agra and the Calcutta Madrassah. At Delhi and Banaras, district English schools were established. But these half measures could hardly be expected to satisfy the public need. In 1823, the Committee was perhaps justified in holding on to classical education for fear of offending Indian people. But its persistence in this policy in the face of a public demand to the contrary led to a split in the Committee itself. Out of the ten members of the Committee, five supported the policy of giving encouragement to Oriental literature and were known as the Oriental party and the rest were in favour of the adoption of English as a medium of instruction and were known as the

English party. The Oriental party was led by H. T. Prinsep who was then the Secretary to Government of Bengal in the Education Department, and consisted of the older members of the Company's service. The English party had no definite leader. It consisted mostly of the younger servants of the Company who looked forward to the support of Macaulay who was then the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction and the Law Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. This equal division of parties in the Committe made it extremely difficult to carry on the work of education. There were "recurring and inconvenient" discussions at meetings, and almost every topic that came up for discussion got mixed up with these fundamental differences. Sometimes no decision could be reached. Very often a decision in favour of one party would be reached if any members of the opposite side accidentally happened to be absent; and more often than not, the decision would be reversed at another meeting when the former party would happen to be in a minority. Evidently, such a state of affairs could not go on for long and early in 1835, both the parties in the Committee decided to submit their dispute to the Governor-General-in-Council for orders.

At this distance of time, it is quite unnecessary to enter into all the details of the controversy which spread over several years. It would suffice for the purpose of this narrative to state the view of the Oriental party which was led by H. T. Prinsep and then to present the other side by an analysis of Macaulay's Minute on the subject.

(*a*) *The Orientalist View:* The most important argument of the Oriental party centered round the interpretation of the forty-third section of the Charter Act of 1813. As has been already mentioned, this section directed that a sum of not less than a lakh of rupees shall be expended every year for "the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." With regard to the first two objects mentioned in this section, the Oriental party argued as under:—

The literature meant to be so revived and encouraged was the literature of the two great classes of population, the Moosulmans and the Hindus.... The revival of literature has been promoted by the assistance given to seminaries of

education previously existing, and by the establishment of fresh, and likewise through the printing and publishing of classical works hitherto only to be procured in manuscript. To these objects a certain proportion of the funds assigned has been made applicable. The encouragement of learned men, the next thing indicated, has been effected as well through the support afforded them in institutions of education and in the superintendence and preparation of works for publication as by other advantages incident to the system pursued, amongst which not the least effectual is the provision for securing prolonged study by stipends to promising students. All this has been done for the natives and their literature.[1]

As regards the third object, *i.e.*, the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences, it was argued that Indians had a prejudice against European knowledge and science and that they would not accept it at all unless it was presented to them through a classical language which they respected and along with the culture of their ancestors to which they were passionately attached. It was, therefore, suggested that the action of the Committee in translating useful books from English into Arabic and Sanskrit was perfectly justified. The Oriental party, therefore, maintained that their actions were entirely within the Charter Act of 1813, and that their policy could not be changed unless the Charter Act was amended by Parliament itself.

Secondly, the Oriental party were extremely keen on preserving the existing institutions of Oriental learning which the English party proposed to abolish. This was the real question at issue. The Oriental party knew the weakness of their case and were prepared to accept a compromise by suggesting that Government should leave it to the option of the student to choose whichever education he liked, whether classical or English. But they would not agree to the idea of closing Oriental institutions. In their view, such a step was entirely opposed to the Government policy of conciliating the people and would even border on intolerance. Prinsep was particularly keen about the Calcutta Madrassah. He argued that the Madrassah was

an endownment made by Warren Hastings more than 50 years ago and for the support of which certain funds, *viz.*, the *land revenue* of the Maddrus Muhal part of which is included in the Barrackpore park were specifically assigned. At first, the Institution was left to the uncontrolled management of the Moola placed by Mr. Hastings at its head. The *Muhal*, however, was under the Khas management of the Board of Revenue and the varying amount realised from it was placed at the Moolavee's disposal. Subsequently the Muhal was made over at a fixed Jama to the Raja of Nudeea when he was restored to his estates of

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, pp. 135-6.

which this formed a part. Except, therefore, that the direct management of the lands was not in the hands of the Principal and Professors and Fellows of the college this was assuredly as complete an Endowment as any of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge or as the Blue Coat School in London can boast of.[1]

He, therefore, argued that even if it was decided to close the existing Oriental institutions, there were

many considerations which should protect the Madrusa at least from any present demolition. It is the only link through which the Government has at present any connection whatsoever with the instruction of the Mooslim youth of Bengal. It is not one of the passing institutions of recent establishment for the support of which funds are assigned from the Parliamentary lac of rupees but is an old established college endowed separately, and efficiently performing the purposes of the endowment.[2]

The other arguments advanced by the Oriental party do not amount to much. It was argued, for instance, that Indians could never master the English language, that an imposition of the English language upon the people would provoke their resentment, and so on. These arguments were not likely to convince the Government of that time. Indians were giving increasing evidence of their ability to master the English language, and a Governor-General like Bentinck, who abolished the cruel custom of *Sati*, would not have been daunted by fear of public-resentment from carrying out what he thought to be in the interest of the people.

(*b*) *Macaulay's Minute:* Let us now turn to the other side of the shield and see how the case of the English party was argued by Macaulay. He took no part in the controversy at the meetings of the General Committee of Public Instruction because he knew that the matter would again come before him as a member of the Executive Council. So, when the papers dealing with the dispute were placed before the Council, he wrote his famous Minute regarding the new educational policy. It is dated 2nd February, 1835 and is a document of great historical importance.

The first question that Macaulay took up for discussion in his Minute referred to the interpretation of Section 43 of the Charter Act of 1813. Macaulay argued that the word "literature" occurring in this section could be interpreted to mean English literature, that the epithet of a "learned native of India" could also be applied to a person versed in the philosophy of Locke or the poetry of Milton, and that the object of promoting

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, p. 119.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 128-9.

a knowledge of sciences could only be accomplished by the adoption of English as the medium of instruction. If this interpretation were not accepted, Macaulay was willing to propose an Act rescinding Section 43 of the Charter. Obviously, Macaulay is treading on slippery ground here. His interpretation is certainly far-fetched, if not actually inaccurate.

Macaulay also differed from the Oriental party regarding the continuance of the institutions of Oriental learning. He held the view that these should be closed as they did not serve any useful purpose. He said:—

> The admirers of the Oriental system of education have used another argument which, if we admit it to be valid, is decisive against all change. They conceive that the public faith is pledged to the present system and that to alter the appropriation of any of the funds which have hitherto been spent in encouraging the study of Arabic and Sanskrit would be downright spoliation. It is not easy to understand by what process of reasoning they can have arrived at this conclusion. The grants which are made from the public purse for the encouragement of literature differ in no respect from the grants which are made from the same purse for other objects of real or supposed utility. We found a sanitarium on a spot which we suppose to be healthy. Do we thereby pledge ourselves to keep a sanitarium there if the result should not answer our expectations? We commence the erection of a pier. Is it a violation of the public faith to stop the works if we afterwards see reason to believe that the building will be useless?

Macaulay then proceeds to examine the problem of the medium of instruction on grounds of expediency or desirability. Obviously, Government could have selected any one of three languages: the mother-tongue of the people, an oriental classical language, or English. It is extremely unfortunate, however, that the claims of the mother-tongue were brushed aside by both the parties. For instance, Macaulay observed:—

> All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.

This condemnation of the spoken languages of the people naturally left the choice of a medium of instruction between Sanskrit and Arabic on the one hand and English on the other. Macaulay admittedly did not know either Arabic or Sanskrit but he gave it as the considered opinion of *Orientalists* that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole

native literature of India and Arabia." And regarding the utility and importance of English, he wrote:—

> The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us,—with models of every species of eloquence,—with historical compositions which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled,—with just and lively representations of human life and human nature,—with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, trade—with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together.... In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East.

The peroration that follows this eulogy of English is characteristic of Macaulay. With an assuredness that is only equalled by his ignorance and in a style that is remarkable for its force, he asks:—

> The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own, whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, wherever they differ from those of Europe differ for the worse, and whether, when we can patronise sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter.

Referring to the question of the alleged prejudices of the Indian people against English education, Macaulay argued that it was the duty of England to teach Indians what was good for their *health*, and not what was palatable to their *taste*. Even assuming that the taste of the people should be consulted, Macaulay argued that Indians had given sufficient evidence of their love for English. In support of this, he pointed out that while the Committee of Public Instruction was finding it hard to dispose of its oriental publications, the English books of the Calcutta School Book Society were selling in thousands and bringing in huge profit. He also drew attention to the fact that while the students of the Madrassah and Sanskrit College had

to be paid stipends, the pupils in the English schools were prepared to pay for the instruction received therein.

Regarding the argument that the Sanskrit and Arabic languages should be studied as the languages of the law and religion of the people, Macaulay pointed out that the best course for Government would be to codify Hindu and Muslim laws in English, and not to incur heavy expenditure on the maintenance of the Oriental institutions.

On these grounds, among others, Macaulay strongly recommended that the object of educational policy in India should be the spread of western learning through the medium of the English language. He also suggested that the existing institutions of Oriental learning should be closed forthwith and that funds thus released should be used for the promotion of English education.

(*c*) *Lord William Bentinck accepts the Minute:* The arguments advanced by Macaulay in support of his view were immediately accepted by Lord William Bentinck who, in his Resolution of 7th March, 1835, passed the following orders:—

The Governor-General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters from the Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction, dated the 21st and 22nd January last, and the papers referred to in them.

First. His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.

Second. But it is not the intention of His Lordship in Council to abolish any College or school of native learning, while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords, and His Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends....no stipend shall be given to any student that may hereafter enter at any of these institutions; and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

Third. It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee on the printing of Oriental works; His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

Fourth. His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language; and His Lordship in Council requests the

Committee to submit to Government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose.[1]

(*d*) *The importance of this controversy* is very often exaggerated. We feel that the question under dispute was not one of great importance at all and that, as a matter of fact, both the parties were in the wrong. The correct solution of the problem would have been to adopt the *Indian languages* as the media of instruction. It was a mistake to brush them aside summarily as being "rude and poor" and incapable of expressing scientific or literary ideas. If the classical party was wrong in fighting for the retention of Sanskrit or Arabic as media of instruction, Macaulay was equally wrong in suggesting the adoption of a foreign language like English as the medium of instruction. In our opinion, a controversy of far greater importance is the one that took place in Bombay where the conflict lay between Indian languages on the one hand and English on the other.

(*e*) *Macaulay's Contribution to Indian Education:* The role of Macaulay himself is variously described. Some regard him as a "torch-bearer in the path of progress"; another section, which attributes the later discontent and political unrest in India to the spread of English education, blames Macaulay as the cause of all trouble. Some dislike him for his ignorant and violent condemnation of Indian languages, culture and religion; while others blame him for being responsible for the neglect of Indian languages that inevitably followed upon the use of English as the medium of instruction.

A closer examination will, however, show that these opinions are both incorrect and unfair. To call Macaulay a "torch-bearer in the path of progress" gives an exaggerated account of the role that he actually played. It must be remembered that Macaulay did not *create* the desire for English education—that desire was already there and it had its origin in the material advantages which were then inseparably connected with a knowledge of English. He was not even the organiser of the English party, because it was already in existence when he arrived in India. In fact, when Macaulay came to India in 1834, the battle between the old and the new was already in full swing. The people desired English education and being unable to get it from the Company, quenched their thirst in the missionary

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, pp. 130-1.

schools. The younger generation of civilians, led by its zeal for reform, was eager to introduce English education. But the rising tide of both these forces was held in check by the older politicians in service who believed that the policy of Hastings and Minto was good for all time and who, no doubt, were supported by the conservative and reactionary forces among the Indians themselves. It was at this time that Macaulay came upon the scene to burst open the locks of conservatism with the power of his rhetoric, and let in the flood of new ideas. He was only responsible for the quick decision of a controversy that would otherwise have dragged on for years but which, nevertheless, could never have been decided in favour of classical languages.

One need not, however, object to the generosity of Macaulay's admirers which makes them place him much higher in public estimation than he really deserves. But it is certainly to be regretted that he is condemned unfairly for things for which he was really not responsible. Perhaps the only aspect of Macaulay's Minute which can be justly blamed is its condemnation of Oriental literature and religion. But now that a hundred years have elapsed since those words were written, we cannot do better than ignore this part of his writings. After all, his *motives* were not dishonourable and it is always good to forget and forgive. The other criticisms on Macaulay are, however, unjustifiable. For instance, to blame Macaulay for the neglect of Indian languages is not altogether fair. Macaulay was aware of the importance of the adoption of Indian languages as media of instruction. But he was apparently advised by local persons on both sides of the controversy that this was impossible, and he can hardly be blamed for taking them at their word.

Perhaps the least charitable are those who condemn him as the cause of all the subsequent political discontent. In the first place, it is a doubtful issue whether this political agitation could not have originated in the absence of English education. But even if it was the result of such education, this is a matter of which England might well be proud. It is interesting to note that Macaulay himself had visualized some such result and described it as 'a title to glory' in his speech in the House of Commons on the Charter Act of 1833.[1]

[1] Dadabhai Naoroji: *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, p. 93.

(*f*) *The End of the Anglicist-Classicist Controversy in Bengal* (1839): It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the controversy came to an end with the resolution of Bentinck's Government quoted above. It lingered on for about five years and was finally closed in a *Minute, dated 24th November*, 1839, *by Lord Auckland* who was then the Governor-General of India. This Minute is an important document of the history of Indian education. It deals with several topics but particularly with the Anglicist-Classicist controversy, the recommendations of Adam regarding the improvement of indigenous education, and the problem of the medium of instruction in secondary schools.

By 1839, much of the heat of the conflict had cooled down. Macaulay had left India. The Oriental party had come to realise the futility of resisting the spread of English and had accordingly moderated their demands. They now pleaded only for the continuance of the existing institutions of Oriental learning and for some funds for publication of valuable Oriental books. The ground was, therefore, quite ready for a compromise. When Lord Auckland succeeded Lord William Bentinck, the controversy seems to have been re-opened in some form or other, perhaps with considerable bitterness on both sides. But Lord Auckland shrewdly guessed the real cause of the conflict and put an end to the controversy. One cannot do better than to allow Lord Auckland himself to explain his diagnosis of the trouble:—

I may observe that it may in my opinion be clearly admitted, and I am glad from the papers before me to see that this opinion is supported by the authority of Mr. Prinsep, that the insufficiency of the funds assigned by the state for the purposes of public instruction has been amongst the main causes of the violent disputes which have taken place upon the education question, and that if the funds previously appropriated to the cultivation of Oriental literature had been spread, and other means placed at the disposal of the promoters of English education, they might have pursued their object aided by the good wishes of all. In the Bengal Presidency, with its immense territory and a revenue of about 13 millions, the yearly expenditure of the Government on this account is little in excess of £24,000 or 2,40,000 rupees, and I need not say how in a country like India, it is to the Government that the population must mainly look for facilities in the acquisition of improved learning.....The sum immediately at command was limited. Parties wishing to promote the diffusion of knowledge in different forms contended eagerly, the one to retain, the other to gain, that sum for the schemes to which they were respectively favourable, and had fresh sums been at once procurable, no one might have objected to their employment for a full and fair experiment on the new ideas which began to prevail. The inference to which I would point from these facts and observations is that a principle of wise liberality, not stinting any object

which can reasonably be recommended, but granting a measured and discriminating encouragement to all, is likely to command general acquiescence, and to obliterate, it may be hoped, the recollection of the acrimony which has been so prejudicial to the public weal in the course of past proceedings.[1]

The obvious remedy was to assign additional funds so as to satisfy both the parties and that was precisely the step taken by Lord Auckland. He passed orders which

(*i*) guaranteed the continuation of the existing institutions of Oriental learning and the payment of adequate grants for entertainment of "the most eminent professors" and adequate scholarships to students;

(*ii*) encouraged the preparation and publication of useful books of instruction in Oriental languages provided that the expenditure was kept within limits of the funds sanctioned for Oriental education; and

(*iii*) also directed that the first duty of the Oriental Colleges was to impart instruction in Oriental learning and that they *may* conduct English classes, if necessary, *after* that duty had been properly discharged.

As may be easily imagined, these orders fully satisfied the Oriental party. The entire additional cost of the above proposals was about Rs. 31,000 per year and Lord Auckland could proudly report that the Court of Directors would "approve of our having closed these controversies at this limited amount of increased expense".

On the other hand, Lord Auckland was also able to satisfy the demands of the Anglicist party. In the first place, he assigned a sum of more than a lakh of rupees for the spread of English education. Secondly, he reviewed the whole question of Indian education in his Minute and gave the following decisions which, it will be noticed, are entirely in support of the Anglicist view:

(*i*) Only partial and imperfect results could be expected from the attempts to teach European science through the medium of Sanskrit or Arabic.

(*ii*) The principal aim of educational policy should be to communicate, through the English language, a complete education in European Literature, Philosophy, and Science to the greatest number of students who may be found ready to accept it.

[1]*Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, pp. 148-9.

(*iii*) Attempts of Government should be restricted to the extension of higher education to the upper classes of society who have leisure for study and whose culture would filter down to the masses. This was the old, famous Downward Filtration Theory and its approval by Lord Auckland marked its official acceptance by Government. Henceforward this theory became the official policy in education and continued to dominate Government effort in education till about 1870.

On the whole, it may be said that although Lord Auckland saved the Classicists from complete annihilation—'twas all they wanted—he gave a far greater impetus to the spread of English education.

It also appears from Auckland's Minute that even in these early days when hardly five years had elapsed since Macaulay wrote of the poverty of modern Indian languages, a suggestion was already being put forward from several quarters that these languages should be used as the media of instruction, at least in the secondary schools. It was pointed out that their limited syllabus could easily be taught through the Indian languages especially if good class books were prepared and arrangements made to train the teachers properly. It was also argued that such a measure would give encouragement to literature in Indian languages, and it was pointed out that Bombay was actually using the Indian languages as media of instruction in most of its schools of this type. But, in spite of these weighty considerations to the contrary, it is to be regretted that Lord Auckland did not accept this wholesome suggestion. English was already used as the medium of instruction in such Zilla schools as were then in existence, and he did not think that there were sufficient reasons to warrant a change in the existing position. This decision is all the more to be regretted because, owing to the centralization introduced by the Charter Act of 1833, the views of a Governor-General could now influence greatly the other presidencies also.

There is little to narrate regarding the development of education in Bengal after Lord Auckland's Minute. The General Committee of Public Instruction was replaced in 1842, by a Council of Education. In 1844, Government announced its policy of giving every encouragement to educated Indians by

employing them in Government service. In 1845, the Council of Education made a proposal for the establishment of a University at Calcutta but the Court of Directors rejected it on the ground that it was premature. By 1854, the Council of Education conducted 151 educational institutions with 13,163 scholars and incurred a total expenditure of Rs. 5,94,428 a year.

5. **The Presidency of Bombay.** The rule of the Peshwa came to an end in 1818 and the Province of Bombay, as it stands today (except for a small area which was annexed later on), was formed in the same year. The Peshwa used to spend about Rs. 5,00,000 a year in giving Dakshina to the Brahmins. It was now decided that this expenditure should be stopped and that a part of it should be used for the encouragement of Brahmanic learning. The Poona Sanskrit College was, therefore, established in 1821 on the model of the Banaras Sanskrit College. Its maintenance was the main educational activity of the Government till 1823 when a more vigorous educational policy was adopted for India as a whole.

At this time, the Governor of the Presidency was Mountstuart Elphinstone whose enquiry into indigenous education has been referred to already. It was mainly due to his encouragement that a Society called "The Bombay Native Education Society" was established in Bombay with the object of spreading modern education among the Indian people. The detailed history of this Society will be given in the next chapter; and it will be sufficient to state here that, on the recommendation of Elphinstone, the Court of Directors sanctioned a grant-in-aid to the Society and accepted it as the principal agency for the spread of education among the people. This official encouragement gave a great fillip to the Society and enabled it to render very useful service to the cause of education between 1823 and 1840. The following short account of the institutions conducted by the Society in 1840 will give an idea of the main features of its educational policy:—

(*a*) *District English Schools:* The Society conducted four English Schools at Bombay, Thana, Panvel and Poona. All these Schools were under the management of European headmasters.

(*b*) *District Primary Schools:* The Society attached much greater importance to the conduct of primary schools in the mofussil. It may be noted that in those days, the expression

primary education meant *the spread of Western Science and knowledge through the mother-tongue* and hence the *primary* schools of the Society were far different from the primary schools of today. For instance, the syllabus of a primary school included the study of Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, History of England and India, Geography, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Algebra, Euclidean Geometry and Trigonometry. The number of classes varied from six to ten. These schools, therefore, may more appropriately be described as secondary schools teaching through the medium of the mother-tongue rather than as primary schools in the modern sense of the term.

It was on the development of such schools that the Bombay Native Education Society concentrated its attention between 1822 and 1840. The progress was slow because the funds at the disposal of the Society were limited and the teachers for the schools had to be specially trained. But it persisted in its efforts and in 1840 as many as 115 primary schools of this type were conducted by the Society.

With regard to the question of the medium of instruction, the Society's view was that the study of English was "of secondary importance in effecting the mental and moral improvement" of the Indian people. Although it conducted a few English Schools in order to "render those few scholars, who evince an inclination and have leisure to continue their studies in English language, capable of understanding all kinds of works on literature and science," it was of opinion that Western knowledge could never be spread to the people through the medium of the English language alone. In its report for 1825-26, it stated its policy in the following words:—

These ideas (*i.e.*, the new ideas in Western literature and science) will be most easily rendered comprehensible to them by means of the mother-tongue of each scholar. It will, therefore, no doubt be admitted that the time and labour both of the master and the scholar would be materially saved, were these indispensable explanations previously embodied in works written in the native languages; and thus it again appears that English can never become the most facile and successful medium of communicating to the natives, as a body, the literature, science and morality of Europe.

Besides the institutions mentioned above which were managed by the Bombay Native Education Society, Government itself conducted two colleges—the Sanskrit College at Poona and the Elphinstone Institution at Bombay. When Elphinstone retired in 1827, the people of Bombay subscribed a fund of two

lakhs in order to commemorate his services to the Province. The Court of Directors contributed an equal amount and the Elphinstone Institution was organized in Bombay in 1834. Through it, the Directors hoped to raise "a class of persons qualified by their intelligence and morality for high employment in the Civil administration of India"; and the Indian community who had subscribed for it hoped that it would lead to a study and enrichment of the languages of the people. The college used as feeder the Central English School conducted by the Bombay Native Education Society.

The above account of the institutions in Bombay will show that Government gave simultaneous encouragement to the study of Sanskrit, English and Modern Indian Languages. The following passage from a report of Captain Candy explains the principles underlying this policy:—

It seems to me that too much encouragement cannot be given to the study of English, nor too much value put upon it, in its proper place and connection, in a plan for the intellectual and moral improvement of India. This place I conceive to be that of supplying *ideas* and *the matter of instruction*, not that of being the medium of instruction. The medium through which the mass of the population must be instructed, I humbly conceive, must be their Vernacular Tongues, and neither English nor Sanskrit. Sanskrit I conceive to be the grand storehouse from which strength and beauty may be drawn for the Vernacular languages, and it is, therefore, highly deserving of cultivation, but it cannot furnish from its stores the matter of instruction, nor can it ever be the medium of instruction to more than a few. In a word, knowledge must be drawn from the stores of the English language, the Vernaculars must be employed as the media of communicating it, and Sanskrit must be largely used to improve the Vernaculars and make them suitable for the purpose. I look on every Native who possesses a good knowledge of his own mother-tongue, of Sanskrit, and of English, to possess the power of rendering incalculable benefit to his countrymen.[1]

In April 1840, the Government of Bombay decided to constitute one agency for the management of all the institutions for the education of Indians and established a Board of Education consisting of seven members of whom three were to be nominated by the Society. The Bombay Native Education Society was wound up and the last act of its existence was to nominate three Indians as members of the Board of Education. This Board continued to function till 1855 when the first Director of Public Instruction took over charge.

The Board inherited, not only all the institutions conducted by the Native Education Society, but also the Poona College

[1] *Report of the Board of Education*, 1840-41, p. 35.

and the Elphinstone Institution. In 1842, it divided the province into three educational Divisions and placed a European Inspector with an Indian Assistant in charge of each. It prepared regulations for the management of its English and primary schools. It undertook to establish a primary school in a village of not less than 2,000 population provided the people gave a school-house, free of rent, and agreed to pay a monthly fee of one anna per pupil. It will be seen, therefore, that the Board continued the policy of the Bombay Native Education Society and the following statistics taken from its report for 1845 show the contrast between the developments in Bengal and Bombay:—

		Bengal.	*Bombay.*
1.	Population	37,000,000	10,500,000
2.	Expenditure on education	Rs. 4,77,593	Rs. 1,68,226
3.	Number of pupils reading in Government schools	5,570	10,616
4.	Number of pupils reading in English schools ..	3,953	761

As in Bengal, a controversy regarding the medium of instruction arose in Bombay also between 1845 and 1848. But the character of the two controversies was radically different. In Bengal, the conflict arose between the classical languages on the one hand and English on the other, and it is surprising that the champions of neither party said anything in favour of the *mother-tongue* of the people. But in Bombay, the conflict between classical and modern Indian languages was settled years ago by the mediæval saints who wrote in the language spoken and understood by the masses. Hence Bombay opinion was not prepared to accept the view later championed by Macaulay that "the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them". On the other hand, the view popularly held in Bombay was that Government should concentrate on the spread of education through the mother-tongue, and no one even suggested the adoption of a classical language as the medium of instruction. Consequently, when the conflict regarding the medium of instruction arose in Bombay, it arose between the mother-tongue and English and *not* between a classical language and English as in Bengal.

In 1843, Sir Erskine Perry, a Judge of the High Court, became the President of the Board of Education. He was a staunch supporter of the use of English as a medium of instruction and he did not at all approve of the earlier policy of the Bombay Native Education Society (which had been continued by the Board of Education without a change) to give as much of higher education as possible through the modern Indian languages. He, therefore, proposed to the Board that Bombay should follow in the footsteps of Bengal and adopt English as the medium of instruction in all higher education. This proposal at once met with a stiff opposition. Col. Jervis and the three Indian members of the Board held that education must be imparted through the mother-tongue of the children. They were not at all prepared to abandon the earlier policy of the Society and refused to accept the ideas of Sir Erskine Perry. A controversy thus ensued, was fought bitterly in the Board for about two years and, as in Bengal, was finally submitted to Government for orders.

It is not necessary to go into the details of the case of the Anglicist party led by Sir E. Perry. Its inspiration evidently came from Bengal and it had hardly anything to add to the arguments given in the Minutes of Macaulay and Auckland. But owing to the different situation in Bombay, it emphasized the following three arguments :—

(*i*) That Indians were themselves eager to study English;

(*ii*) That the work of translating books of European knowledge and science into the Indian languages would be extremely costly and difficult; and

(*iii*) That it was politically expedient to encourage the Indians to study English. As this is a new aspect of the problem, one cannot do better than to quote Sir Erskine Perry's own words:—

There can be no doubt whatever, and Government are perfectly alive to the fact, that the more intimate the communication is between the governors and the governed, the better for both parties. It is only by close inter-communication that complaints become heard and redressed—that the views of the Government for general improvement can be appreciated—that the corruption and extortions of intermediate agency can be checked. It is the clear perception of these views that causes Government to lay so much, and such just stress on their European employees making themselves masters of the native languages, But the same good results are produced, and in a much more effective manner, when the Natives on their part acquire the English language. The English are notoriously bad linguists, the Scotch are worse. They commence their studies of Eastern languages, moreover, at a period of life when the organs of speech

are becoming somewhat rigid. But the natives have a wonderful aptitude for language—every one above the rank of a cultivator knows at least two; and, with respect to English, those who undertake the study of it commence at the most favourable period of life for the acquisition of a foreign tongue. At the present moment, although the knowledge of native languages is indispensable to Europeans in civil employment, and although no marked encouragement for the study of English by natives has been afforded by Government, for one civilian who can write a grammatical letter in idiomatic Maharatti or Gujrathi, I will undertake to produce fifty natives who can write off-hand a letter in pure English. Without in the least degree desiring to diminish the *onus* on the European services of acquiring the native languages, I do submit that all sound policy dictates a like encouragement to natives, for the purpose of drawing the relation closer between them and the Government.[1]

The other side was very ably put forward by Colonel Jervis and Jagannath Shankarset. The following extract from a Minute dated 24th February, 1847, from Colonel Jervis will show the noble stand that he took on this issue:—

Surely it must be admitted, that general instruction cannot be afforded, except through the medium of a language with which the mind is familiar; and, therefore, the consistent result of the views above-mentioned, which would constitute English the essential medium for the intellectual improvement of the Natives of India, startling though it must appear to the commonest sense, is to withhold all education from the Native population of this country, until the English language is so familiar to them, that each individual can think and reason in that tongue, to the supersession necessarily of his own dialect; and moreover, strange to say, the idea of making English the sole language of our Indian subjects, has been seriously entertained and propounded. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the chimerical nature, to say the least, of such extreme views; but the conclusion appears incontrovertible, that, in proportion as we confine Education to the channel of the English language, so will the fruits be restricted to a number of scribes and inferior Agents for Public and Private Offices, and a few enlightened individuals—isolated by their very superiority, from their fellow countrymen.

In our endeavours to make the knowledge of English among the natives so prominent and essential a qualification, we are neglecting the benefit of three hundred years' experience in Europe, and we are retrograding to the days, in which Latin was the sole language of Literature; and when, in consequence, knowledge, both spiritual and temporal, was confined to a few Monks—a few Divines—a few Men of Letters. Until such an exclusive agency was put an end to,—until the modern tongues of Europe were emancipated,—the people could never learn, or know for themselves. On the abrogation of the exclusive use of the Latin language on the inauguration of the language of the People, the acquirement of knowledge was made accessible to all. From the Noble, to the Artizan, —all men could be taught,—all men could be teachers,—and how wonderful has been the advancement, in morality and literature, by such a change in Europe. Should we then, here, at this day, so far forget this lesson, and insist so much on imposing the burden of the foreign language of a handful of Rulers on the Millions of our Native population? On the contrary, I conceive it a paramount duty, on our part, to foster the Vernacular dialects, and to use every endeavour to free them from the swaddling bands in which they have been hitherto confined.

[1] *Sir Erskine Perry's Note on Education*, para. 25, printed as Appendix to the Report the Bombay Board of Education, 1849.

Aided by their cognate classical dialects (Sanskrit, etc.) they would be capable of a copiousness of expression, now unknown to them, and of indicating the dependence,—the connection, the minute diversity and transition of ideas, and the various steps in the process of logical deductions; and they would attain to a vigorous maturity,—in which the highest powers of language to embody every operation of the mind, from the simplest to the most subtle would be developed.

The popular idioms, which have hitherto been employed only in a few meagre productions of the Chronicler and Minstrel, must be summoned under our auspices, to act a new part, and, consequently to receive a new development. In this way we should endeavour to raise up a new world of Morality and Literature around the whole mass of Native Society, and not contract their advancement solely within the bounds, which the tutelage of our English Government, and the medium of our English language, would impose. The learned Orientalist, Horace Wilson, observes:—'It is not by the English language that we can enlighten the people of India. It can be effected only through the forms of speech which they already understand and use. These must be applied to the purpose, either by direct translations, or which is preferable, by the representation of European facts, opinions, and sentiments, in an original native garb. In the early stages of improvement, the former mode is the only one that can be expected; hereafter, the latter would take its place, and would give to the people of India a literature of their own, the legitimate progeny of that of England, the living resemblance, though not the servile copy of its Parent.'

The project of importing English literature along with English Cottons into India, and bringing it into universal use, must at once be felt by every reasonable mind as chimerical and ridiculous. If the people are to have a literature, it must be their own. The stuff may be, in a great degree, European, but it must be freely interwoven with homespun materials, and the fashion must be Asiatic.[1]

The following Minute dated 1st May, 1847, was penned by Jagannath Shankarset and concurred in by the two other Indian members of the Board of Education, Framjee Cowasjee and Mahommad Ibrahim Mackba. It gives an insight into the real object of those who contributed to the Elphinstone Fund and forms an excellent retort to the argument that Indians themselves were eager to study English to the neglect of their mother-tongue.

I am persuaded that the Vernacular languages possess advantages superior to English, as the medium of communicating useful knowledge to the people of Western India. It cannot be denied that they must have less difficulty in understanding whatever is communicated to them in their own language, than in a foreign tongue. When a native is inclined to prosecute the study of English, his progress is more rapid, and his usefulness doubled, provided he be first well grounded in his own language. I say his usefulness will be increased, because it is only by this preparation that any knowledge he may have acquired can be imparted by him to his countrymen through the medium of the Vernacular languages. It is, in my humble opinion, an impossibility to teach the great mass of the people a language, such as English, so widely different from their own. I must also observe that when the native chiefs and others gave large subscriptions for the establishment of the Elphinstone Professorships they contributed

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, pp. 11-13.

them with an understanding that the Vernacular languages were not to be neglected, but carefully fostered, and improved, and brought into use as the medium of communicating useful knowledge to the great body of the people. The Vernacular languages have been much neglected by the people in Bombay, and this being the centre from which we expect the beams of knowledge to spread, these languages are pre-eminently entitled to our fostering care. It was to this that the early efforts of Native Education were directed. It was to this end that all Mr. Elphinstone's plans tended. For a time, these efforts were eminently successful, but they have remained in abeyance, and the state in which they now are, though somewhat improved, requires the most strenuous effort for improvement to render them efficient organs for imparting European knowledge to the natives. Our worthy President has observed, that the Board are equally alive with Colonel Jervis to the necessity of the Vernacular languages being the medium of instruction to the masses of the people, to the importance of promoting the growth of Vernacular literature, and to the urgency of providing schools. This is true, nor have I any hesitation in stating that the desire of acquiring a knowledge of the English language and literature, evinced by the natives is very great and very prevalent; and this is evident from the efforts which parents make to get their sons as quickly removed from the Vernacular into the English schools as they can. Their motives for this acquirement are obvious, public employment, and a facility of intercourse with Europeans, but it seems to be hopeless that we can ever change the language of a whole country. In reality how insignificant a portion of the whole population are acquainted with the English, or have any prospect or means of becoming so. If our object is to diffuse knowledge and improve the minds of the natives of India as a people, it is my opinion that it must be done by imparting that knowledge to them in their own language. By what other channel can we ever hope to extend the advantages of Education generally to our females? I repeat, I am far from wishing to discourage the study of English, but I believe it to be beyond the reach of the masses of people. I cannot at the same time help remarking that the encouragement which we provide to Vernacular Education is far less than what the real interest of Native Education demands; the Master's pay is so small and we have never as yet conferred any Scholarships on Vernacular Students. These sentiments are not new; they were entered in a protest given in by Colonel Jervis, Mohammed Ibrahim Mackba, and myself on the Board's report for 1845.[1]

The controversy grew bitter by 1848 and hence the whole question was submitted to Government for orders. These were passed on 5th April, 1848, but were extremely indecisive. As Sir Erskine Perry wrote:—

But whilst the Government thus enjoin the maintenance of the present system, which is in accordance with the views of myself, Mr. Escombe, and Dr. McLennan, they emit opinions so much more in accordance with the views of Colonel Jervis, that it is obvious that the different conflicting theories at the Board, which have already produced much inconvenience, will again be brought forward from time to time, and that each party will refer to this Government letter as an authority for their favourite views.[2]

It was this indecisiveness of the orders coupled with the repeated pressure from Bengal that throttled the growth of

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, pp. 16-17.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

education in Bombay through the mother-tongue. In those days of centralization, the sanction of the Government of Bengal was necessary for all new items of expenditure. Consequently, when the Government of Bombay put up proposals for the expansion of primary education, they were generally not sanctioned by the Government of Bengal on the ground of the heaviness of their cost and sometimes the Government of Bengal even advised the Government of Bombay to concentrate on English education because it was less costly to Government. The one definite result of the controversy was, therefore, the adoption of English as the exclusive medium of instruction at the collegiate stage. The attempts of Colonel Jervis and others succeeded in retaining the use of the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction at the secondary stage only—a position which, as we shall see, was accepted even by the Despatch of 1854.

The activities of the Board between 1848 and 1853 can be briefly narrated. In 1851, the Poona Sanskrit College was combined with the Poona English School and was designated the Poona College. It came to be known later as the Deccan College. The Board continued its policy of establishing an English school in each District and of establishing primary schools in as many bigger villages as possible. The Board also conducted a Normal class for primary teachers in the Elphinstone Institution.

6. **The Presidency of Madras** was the last of the Presidencies to come into the field. Reference has already been made to the enquiry made by Munro in 1822 regarding indigenous education. As a result of this enquiry, Munro found that the condition of education in that Province was at a low ebb on account of the absence of encouragement from Government and the poverty of the people. In his Minute, dated 10th March, 1826, Munro proposed that an attempt should be made to educate the masses by improving the indigenous schools. For this purpose, he said, the first essential requirement was to have a better type of teachers. In order to create these, he proposed the establishment of two schools (one for Hindus and one for Muslims) in each Collectorate and of one school in each Tahsil (Taluka) of the Province. The total cost of his proposals was estimated at Rs. 50,000 per annum.

Munro's proposals were sanctioned by the Court of Directors in 1828. But unfortunately Munro himself had departed this

world in 1827, and those who followed him had neither the sympathy nor the vision of Munro so that the experiment was tried in a very half-hearted manner. By 1830, only about 70 Tahsildaree schools had been established and even before the scheme had begun to work, the Directors wrote on 29th September, 1830, that the Government of Madras would do well to concentrate on the spread of English education rather than on an attempt to spread education among the masses. Although this letter did not immediately kill the schools established by Munro—these continued to have an indifferent existence till 1836—it effectually stopped their expansion and the problem of mass education in Madras received a great set-back and continued to be neglected till 1868.

After the death of Munro, the history of official attempts in education in Madras makes painful reading. It mostly consists, as Richey points out,

> of minutes by successive Governors, Lord Elphinstone, Lord Tweeddale and Sir Henry Pottinger, outlining policies which were never fully adopted, of reports from the educational board submitting schemes which were never brought into effect, of orders of the local Government constituting new educational authorities each of which was short lived, together with despatches from the Court of Directors criticising the policies framed by the Governors, rejecting the schemes submitted by the educational board and dissolving the new educational authorities constituted by the local Government. We find, for example, that the Board of Public Instruction was reconstituted in 1836, as a Committee of Native Education, which in turn gave place in 1841 to a University Board; this Board was superseded by a Council of Education in 1845, which was dissolved at the instance of the Court of Directors in 1847, its duties being again undertaken by the University Board; Sir Henry Pottinger revived the Council of Education in 1848 only to replace it by a Board of Governors in 1851, which handed over its functions to the Department of Public Instruction which was formed in 1854. In view of the constant changes both in the policy of the local Government and in the personnel of the authority whose duty it was to carry out that policy, it is not a matter for surprise that the educational activities of the Madras Government were not fruitful in results or that we find in 1852 but one single institution in the Presidency founded or under the immediate control of Government.[1]

It is, therefore, unnecessary here to go into the details of the voluminous correspondence that is available on the subject. The following brief statement of events will be quite sufficient for our purpose:—

(*a*) The indigenous schools were never encouraged in Madras.

(*b*) The District and Tahsildaree schools established by Munro were discontinued in 1836 as a result of the orders of the

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, p. 177.

Government of Bengal which recommended the withdrawal of aid from the Collectorate and Tahsildaree schools, the establishment of an English College at Madras, and of provincial English schools at some important places in the interior, if funds permitted.

(*c*) A High School then called "the University" was established in Madras in 1841.

(*d*) In 1853, a collegiate Department was organised in the Madras "University".

(*e*) Although the sanctioned allotment for education in Madras was only Rs. 50,000 a year, expenditure to the full amount was never incurred and a balance of over Rs. 3,00,000 had accumulated by 1853.

The only relieving factor of the situation was that Missionary activities were conducted on a very large scale in Madras and consequently English education was more extensively imparted there than even in Bombay where Government conducted an English School in almost every district in the Province. The Indian Education Commission, 1882, states that, in 1854, "about 30,000 boys were being educated in schools conducted by Missionary Societies, and about 3,000 were obtaining at least the elements of a liberal education in English".[1]

7. **Official Efforts in Education in the North-Western Provinces.** The control of the educational institutions in the North-Western Provinces of Agra and Oudh was transferred from the Government of Bengal to the Provincial Government in 1843. At that time, the Province had three colleges at Agra, Banaras and Delhi, and nine Anglo-Vernacular Schools maintained by Government.

One of the earliest decisions of the Provincial Government was to educate the people through the medium of their mother-tongue and *not* through English. This decision was mainly due to Thomason who was then the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province and was a great champion of mass education and indigenous schools. We owe three great ideas to him, *viz.*, (i) the necessity of incorporating the indigenous schools in a national system of education; (ii) the creation of an Education Department; and (iii) the levy of a local rate for educational

[1] *Report*, p. 11.

purposes. The history of educational developments in the North-Western Province between 1843 and 1853 is, therefore, of great interest to students of mass education in India. This is, however, given in detail in section 12 later on.

8. **Official Efforts in Education in the Punjab.** The Province of the Punjab was constituted in 1849. The only official institution that existed in the Province prior to 1854 was a school at Amritsar which had Hindi, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, and Gurumukhee departments.

9. **Official Educational Policies in India (1833-53).** The foregoing review of the principal landmarks in official educational enterprise in India between 1833 and 1853 prepares the ground for a discussion of the official policies in education as they evolved in this period. These can be conveniently discussed under the following heads:—

(*a*) The Objectives of Educational Policy;
(*b*) The Downward Filtration Theory;
(*c*) Attitude towards Indigenous Institutions; and
(*d*) The Education of Women.

The problem of the medium of instruction has been discussed already in sections 4 and 5.

10. **The Objectives of Educational Policy.** One of the first problems to be discussed in building up the modern system of education was to define the objectives of educational policy. The subject can be approached from two points of view: cultural and political-cum-administrative.

From the cultural point of view, the educational thought of this period can be broadly divided into three definite view-points: the first is the view represented by men like Duncan and Hastings, or more preferably, by Minto, Prinsep, H. H. Wilson, and such other Orientalists. This view emphasized (*a*) the worthwhileness of the ancient literatures of the Hindus and Muslims, (*b*) the necessity and importance of its proper study by Hindus and Muslims, (*c*) the utility of the careful study of these literatures by Western scholars as well, and (*d*) the desirability of *preserving the ancient culture of Hindus and Muslims* from the state of rapid decay into which it had fallen on account of the loss of royal patronage. It is not our intention to suggest that these persons opposed the spread of Western knowledge; but they obviously

attached far greater importance to the preservation and development of Oriental culture.

The second view which represents the other extreme was generally held by missionaries and by men like Charles Grant and Macaulay who believed in the *substitution of Oriental culture by Western.* They generally had an utter contempt for Oriental culture. Grant's *Observations* prove this and Macaulay roundly declared that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia". Grant believed that Western *light and knowledge* should take the place of Eastern culture and religion, and Macaulay talked of creating a class of persons who would be "Indians in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect".

The third view sought the golden mean between these two extremes. It premised that Indians would lose greatly by being restricted merely to the study of Oriental literature; that the substitution of one culture by another would be a psychological impossibility; and that the only practical and realistic approach to the problem would be to bring about a synthesis of the two cultures, preserving all that is good in the Oriental system and superimposing upon it all that is good in the Western system. This view finds good exponents among enlightened Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and liberal-minded Englishmen like Colonel Jervis who said, "If the people are to have a literature, it must be their own. The stuff may be, in a great degree, European, but it must be freely interwoven with homespun materials and the fashion must be Asiatic."[1] These very remarks can be extended to the general pattern of culture that men like him tried to create.

It was rather unfortunate that, during the period under review, this golden mean was not adequately realised by our educational administrators. Prior to 1833, the Orientalist view held sway and then the pendulum swung to the other side and the ideas of the substitution of Eastern culture by Western became more dominant. These extremes were probably unavoidable because it was through these *trial and error* methods only that the ultimate truth was realised at a later date. They were, however, unfortunate and had a considerable unsettling cultural effect upon the young men who entered the modern educational institutions of this period.

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. II, p. 13.

Coming to the political-cum-administrative aspects of the problem, we find that the spread of education among the Indian people was advocated, in this period, on two other grounds as well: to win over the confidence of the upper classes of society who had lost their political influence through the British conquest of India, and to secure less costly employees for the subordinate ranks of Government service. The first of these objectives will be discussed in detail in the next section under the *Downward Filtration Theory*. The second objective became more and more pronounced as the Company's territories began to grow. So long as it was a purely commercial concern, the Company employed Englishmen almost exclusively. As soon as it became a political power, it had to employ large numbers of Indian servants partly because the exclusion of Indians from all posts under Government would have led to great discontent and partly because the exclusive employment of Englishmen was neither practicable nor financially feasible. This naturally created a demand for educated Indians, and the Court of Directors were very eager to develop education in India in such a manner that the subordinate services under Government could be speedily Indianised, thereby reducing the cost of administration very materially. Of course, this idea of Indianisation was never pushed too far. There was never any talk of giving any key-post to an Indian (except probably in the theoretical Parliamentary discussion on the Charter Act of 1833) and all key services were to continue to be exclusively a British preserve. But even with this limitation, there was a very large scope for the employment of Indians under Government and an argument that was often put forward was that the new system of education should train Indians for these jobs that awaited them.

A third view, semi-political and ethical in character, was occasionally put forward on this subject, *viz.*, that it was the *duty* of the Company, as a ruler, to provide education for the people of India. This view was partly supported by the tradition of Hindu and Muslim rulers, partly by the influence from England where, since 1833, Parliament had accepted the responsibility for education, and partly from the concept of several liberal-minded Englishmen that the only moral justification for the British conquest of India would be to make it a means of the cultural improvement of the people as a whole. This

view is found expressed in the writings of men like Grant, Munro, Macaulay and Metcalfe.

A study of the documents of this period, therefore, shows that the most commonly discussed objects of British educational policy in India were three: (*a*) to spread western knowledge, (*b*) to secure properly trained servants for the public administration of the country, and (*c*) to do the Sovereign's duty by the Indian subjects. All these view-points existed at all times and were emphasized in varying degrees by different classes of officials and educational workers; and even the view of the same group of officials or workers changed in accordance with the changes in the social and political life of England herself. For instance, we find that the first view was generally held by missionaries and such officials of the Company as were inspired by a missionary zeal; the second is most frequently found in the Despatches of the Court of Directors who, as financiers and traders, emphasized the importance of recruiting cheap and efficient servants for the public administration of the country; and the third is found in the writings of men like Macaulay, Munro and Metcalfe. If we go by periods, we find that the second view dominated the discussions in the period of 1823-33 and the first dominated those in the period 1833-53. The explanation of the phenomena obviously lies in the fact that in the earlier period, the finances of the Company were in a bad condition and strenuous attempts had to be made to reduce the cost of administration, while in the second period, a wave of liberal ideas dominated English life.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that it would be historically incorrect to talk, as is sometimes done, of any of the above objectives as the *sole* aim of British educational policy in India. The British administration had not one, but a *group of aims*, and the only statement that can be justified is to say that at times a particular objective was emphasized more than the others. If this fundamental concept is accepted, it may be further argued that the system of *liberal education* in India was organised with an emphasis on the spread of Western knowledge while the system of *professional and vocational education* was organised with the principal object of training Indians for Government service. In support of the former of these statements, the two irrefutable arguments are the establishment of

the Universities and the efforts made to educate women. Neither of these measures was essential for securing Government servants and their incorporation in official policy shows convincingly that the emphasis was placed on the spread of Western knowledge. The second statement will be fully justified by the history of professional and vocational education that will be narrated in later sections.

A very common remark heard in educational and political discussions is that the modern system of education in India was *solely* motivated by the object of securing servants for Government. This is hardly a correct interpretation of historical events. A careful study of the Minutes of Munro and Elphinstone, the speeches of Macaulay on the Charter Act of 1833 and Lord Hardinge's Resolution of 1844, will show that these pioneers, at any rate, did not think that the people should be educated because Government required servants. On the other hand, they believed that employment under Government was to be used as a means of overcoming the suspicion which a conservative people would naturally feel towards the *new-fangled* institutions of an alien Government, as a bait to divert the young men of the upper classes from the study of Oriental to Occidental literature, and as a just fulfilment of the ambition that would be naturally aroused in the young hearts that had drunk at the fountain of Western culture. It would be an unfair estimate of the work of these pioneers of the Indian educational system to say that securing servants for public administration was either the sole or even the main aim of *their* endeavours.

11. **The Downward Filtration Theory.** The second problem which the creators of the modern system of education had to face was to decide, at the very outset, whether they would educate a class or the masses as a whole.

A view that came to be put forward very early on this subject was that Government should educate only those classes of society that had lost most by the change of Government. It was claimed that such education, followed by employment in subordinate services of Government, would win the loyalty of these classes and help the consolidation of British Rule in India. It was this motive that led to the education of the Muslims in Bengal, the Hindus in North-Western Province, and the

Brahmins in Bombay. This standpoint, however, was soon abandoned because the political situation that gave rise to it disappeared generally within a few years of the British conquest of the area concerned.

This view was, therefore, replaced by another which is popularly known as the *Downward Filtration Theory*. This policy is found stated in three different forms which differ significantly from each other. According to the first form, the Company desired, on the analogy of the aristocratic classes in England, to educate only the *upper classes* of society with a view to creating a *governing class* in India, consisting of Sardars, Nawabs, Rajas and such other aristocratic classes. This is hardly a correct interpretation of the early official attempts to spread education. It is true that some of the early administrators wanted to pacify those classes of society which had been adversely affected by a change of Government, by educating them in the first instance and then employing them in certain offices under the Company. Even assuming that such an attempt would have succeeded, it would not be correct to describe it as an attempt to create a *governing class*; it would be more correct to describe it as an attempt to secure loyalty by the grant of petty favours. But admittedly, the attempt did not succeed and instead of educating the aristocrats, the Company had to educate all those classes of society which were quick to perceive the worldly advantages that could be obtained through the new educational system. For instance, when Warren Hastings started the Calcutta Madrassah, he intended to educate the sons of Mahomedan *gentlemen*; but it was the *Bhadralok* of Bengal who availed themselves most of the educational opportunities that were offered under the new regime.

The second form of the Downward Filtration Theory is that in which the upper or influential classes of society were proposed to be educated first because, it was argued, their culture would later on naturally descend to the lower classes. For instance, the Court of Directors wrote as under to the Government of Madras on 29th September, 1830:—

The improvements in education, however, which most effectually contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of a people are those which concern the education of the higher classes of the persons possessing leisure and natural influence over the minds of their countrymen. By raising the standard of instruction among these classes you would eventually produce a

much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than you can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class.[1]

This view may have some validity in a society which permits plenty of mobility for its different strata. The Indian society, however, was divided into watertight sections owing to the prevalence of a number of religions and castes with the result that the assumption of a Downward Filtration Theory of this type had hardly any validity. Its adoption by the officials of this period, therefore, did give a set-back to educational progress.

There is a third form of the Downward Filtration Theory which is of far greater importance to the students of the history of education in India. According to this form, the Company was expected to give a *good* education (which then necessarily meant education through English) to only a *few* persons (these may or may not be from the upper classes) and leave it to these persons to educate the masses (through the modern Indian languages). It was on this view, rather than on the idea of creating a *governing class* in India or of exclusively educating the upper classes that most of the early official attempts in education were based. To put it briefly, the Company did not accept, until 1854, any *direct* responsibility for the education of the masses which would necessarily have meant, education through the Indian languages; on the contrary, *it decided to educate a class of persons in English as a means of ultimately educating the masses through the Indian languages.*

The earliest exposition of this view is found in the writings of Warden, a member of the Governor's Council in Bombay. The same view was later expressed by Macaulay when he wrote:

In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose views I am opposed. I feel with them that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.[2]

It is in this sense of giving good education in English to a few as a means of ultimately educating the masses through the

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, p. 179.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

Indian languages that the Downward Filtration Theory was really evolved in this period.

It must be noted that the adoption of the Downward Filtration Theory in this form was made inevitable by the small amounts sanctioned for educational expenditure, and the educational administrators of the early nineteenth century could hardly be blamed for adopting the good education of a few as the goal of their activities. They were called upon to face the colossal task of educating millions of individuals in a multitude of languages with which they were but little familiar; they had few suitable men and the poorest of means; and the adoption of such an ideal was, therefore, the only solution of their difficulties. The one miscalculation of which they were guilty, however, was to assume that every educated Indian, like the great Archimedes of old, would immediately rush out of the English colleges and schools shouting "Eureka" at the top of his voice. This did not happen, at any rate, for about fifty years after Macaulay's Minute was written, and once again, as so often before, the best laid schemes of Indian educators went agley. The failure was due to two causes: Firstly, almost every person educated in English schools got employment under Government; and hence there was hardly any occasion for him to go and teach his own countrymen. Secondly, every person who was taught in English schools was cut off from his own people in sympathy and ideology. The English-knowing person became a class by himself and refused to acknowledge kinship with, or feel sympathy for, the masses who did not know English. This unhappy result was due partly to the attempt to substitute Western culture for Eastern and partly to the use of English as a medium of instruction. The Downward Filtration Theory, therefore, did not work out satisfactorily according to the ideas of its promoters for a very long time.

Ultimately, however, the Theory *did* work out in the desired way. The educational institutions conducted by Government (or by the missionaries) remained a minority and they gave higher education in English to a very small percentage of the total population. But it is from the ranks of these educated persons that the bulk of workers for the education of the nation sprang up in later years. In the vanguard of this band were the many noble spirits who decided to turn their back on Government

service, although this was available for the mere asking, and devoted their lives to spreading education among their brethren. It is to these patriotic and sacrificing workers that we owe the origin and development of private Indian enterprise in education and, eventually, most of the collegiate and secondary education that we see in our midst today. Moreover, a stage was soon reached when the output of the educational institutions began to exceed the capacity of Government services to take in new recruits and consequently, several educated men took up the work of spreading education among the people as a means of their livelihood. The ranks of the early pioneers, therefore, were further swelled and private Indian enterprise soon became the principal agency for spreading secondary and collegiate education among the people. Thirdly, it was by the labour of these few persons educated in English that the modern literatures in Indian languages were built up, and the modern Indian press was brought into existence. Ultimately, therefore, the task of mass education through the press and literature in Indian languages has been principally carried out, as originally anticipated, by the few persons who were given a sound education in Western science and literature. But these results were slow in coming and did not become very conspicuous till the early years of the twentieth century.

12. **Attitude of the Company to Indigenous Educational Institutions.** In so far as immediate results were concerned, however, the Downward Filtration Theory did not achieve any good; on the other hand, it did a lot of harm by sabotaging the cause of mass education and by leading to the neglect of indigenous institutions. This becomes quite evident on a study of what happened to the attempts of Munro, Elphinstone and Adam. The failure of Munro's attempts to improve the indigenous schools by founding *Tahsildaree* and *Collectorate* schools has already been narrated in section 6. We shall now deal here with the other two attempts.

(*a*) *Proposals of Mass Education made by Elphinstone:* Mountstuart Elphinstone who was the Governor of Bombay from 1819 to 1827 was the first Provincial Governor to propose that the Company should try to spread education among the masses by encouraging indigenous institutions. When the Bombay Native Education Society approached him for a grant-in-aid,

he utilised the opportunity to explain his views on education at length in a Minute and suggested the following seven measures for adoption:—

1st, to *improve* the mode of teaching at the native schools, and to *increase* the number of schools; 2nd, to supply them with school-books; 3rd, to hold out some encouragement to the lower orders of natives to avail themselves of the means of instruction thus afforded them; 4th, to establish schools for teaching the European sciences and improvements in the higher branches of education; 5th, to provide for the preparation and publication of books of moral and physical science in native languages; 6th, to establish schools for the purpose of teaching English to those disposed to pursue it as a classical language, and as a means of acquiring a knowledge of the European discoveries; 7th, to hold forth encouragement to the natives in the pursuit of those last branches of knowledge.[1]

Elphinstone knew that the above proposals would involve Government in considerable expenditure. But he held the view that the education of the poor must largely be a change on public revenues and argued that the greatness of the expense of his proposals was compensated for by the magnitude of their object. "It is difficult to imagine," he said.

an undertaking in which our duty, our interest, and our honour are more immediately concerned. It is well understood that in all countries the happiness of the poor depends in a great measure on their education. It is by means of it alone that they can acquire those habits of prudence and self-respect from which all other good qualities spring; and if ever there was a country where such habits are required, it is this.[2]

Certain features of Elphinstone's proposals deserve special notice. It will be seen that he stood for mass education through the medium of the mother-tongue. He gave the first place in his programme to the improvement of indigenous schools and to their extension. Secondly, he suggested the teaching of English *classically* and did not insist on its use as the sole medium of instruction. He was not opposed to the idea of using English as a medium of instruction but felt that the people would not respond properly if English were used for the purpose. He wrote:—

If English could be at all diffused among persons who had the least time for reflection, the progress of knowledge, by means of it, would be accelerated in a tenfold ratio, since every man who made himself acquainted with a science through English would be able to communicate it in his own language to his countrymen. At present, however, there is but little desire to learn English with any such view. The first step towards creating such a desire would be to establish a school at Bombay where English might be taught classically, and where instruction might also be given in that language on history, geography and the popular branches of science.[3]

[1] *Elphinstone's Minute on Education*, para. 7.
[2] *Ibid.*, para. 43.
[3] *Ibid.*, para. 27.

When this Minute was placed before the Governor's Council, Warden, who was a member of the Council at that time, violently opposed the proposals of Elphinstone. He did not agree with the idea that Government should accept any responsibility for education of the masses. He was one of the earliest officials to enunciate the Downward Filtration Theory. He also attached paramount importance to English education and did not like the way in which Elphinstone made it follow upon primary education at a respectable distance. He wrote:

It is better and safer to commence by giving a good deal of knowledge to a few than a little to many, to be satisfied with laying the foundation of good edifice and not desire to accomplish in a day what must be the work of a century. But the object of giving a good deal of knowledge to a few can only be promoted by a better system of education; and the surest mode of diffusing a better system is by making the study of the English language the primary, and not merely the secondary object of attention in the education of the natives.[1]

Owing to this difference of opinion between Elphinstone and Warden, the Court of Directors did not accord sanction to all the proposals of Elphinstone. They accepted the Bombay Native Education Society as their agent for organization of education in the Province and hence no Committee of Public Instruction was appointed in Bombay. They also sanctioned a grant of Rs. 600 per mensem to the Society and undertook to bear the cost of compiling and printing its school books. The proposals of Elphinstone were thus side-tracked, and when he left Bombay in 1827, he was deeply grieved that differences in his Council should have prevented him from achieving substantial results in expanding education. The Downward Filtration Theory, with its inseparable concomitant of education through English, was thus mainly responsible for stifling this earliest attempt to develop mass education through the indigenous institutions.

(*b*) *Adam's Proposals for the Development of Indigenous Education in Bengal:* Reference has already been made, in Chap. I, section 14, to the proposals made by Adam regarding the manner in which the indigenous institutions could be developed. He knew that the Downward Filtration Theory would prevent the acceptance of his plans. He, therefore, tried to show its harmfulness and recommended that it should be abandoned. He wrote :—

Instead of beginning with schools for the lower grades of native society, a system of Government institutions may be advocated that shall provide, in the

[1] *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, 1832, Appendix I (Public), p. 384.

first place, for the higher classes on the principle that the tendency of knowledge is to descend, not to ascend; and that, with this view, we should at present seek to establish a school at the head-station of every zilla, afterwards pergunnah schools, and last of all village schools, gradually acquiring in the process more numerous and better qualified instruments for the diffusion of education. The primary objection to this plan is that it overlooks entire systems of native educational institutions, Hindu and Mohammadan, which existed long before our rule, and which continue to exist under our rule, independent of us and of our projects, forming and moulding the native character in successive generations. In the face of this palpable fact, the plan assumes that the country is to be indebted to us for schools, teachers, books—everything necessary to its moral and intellectual improvement, and that in the prosecution of our views we are to reject all the aids which the ancient institutions of the country and the actual attainments of the people afford towards their advancement. We have to deal in this country principally with Hindus and Mohammadans, the former one of the earliest civilized nations of the earth, the latter in some of the brightest periods of their history distinguished promoters of science; and both, even in their present retrograde stages of civilization, still preserving a profound love and veneration for learning nourished by those very institutions of which I have spoken, and which it would be equally improvident on our part and offensive to them to neglect.

Again, if the maxim that the tendency of knowledge is to descend, not to ascend, requires us to have first zilla, next pergunnah, and then village schools, it follows that we ought not to have even zilla schools till we have provincial colleges, nor the latter till we have national universities; nor these till we have a cosmopolitan one. But this is an application of the maxim foreign to its spirit. Improvement begins with the individual and extends to the mass, and the individuals who give the stimulus to the mass are doubtless generally found in the upper, that is, the thinking class of society which, especially in this country, is not composed exclusively nor even principally, of those who are highest in rank, or who possess the greatest wealth. The truth of the maxim does not require that the measures adopted should have reference first to large and then to small localities in progressive descent. On the contrary the efficiency of every successive higher grade of institution cannot be secured except by drawing instructed pupils from the next lower grade which, consequently by the necessity of the case, demands prior attention. Children should not go to colleges to learn the alphabet. To make the superstructure lofty and firm, the foundations should be broad and deep; and thus building from the foundation, all classes of institutions and every grade of instruction may be combined with harmonious and salutary effect.[1]

But even this eloquent defence was of no avail and Lord Auckland decided to put his Report in cold storage. Adam's proposals, therefore, went the same way as those of Elphinstone and Munro and almost for the same reasons. In all three Presidencies, therefore, the indigenous institutions did not receive any encouragement from the Company, and its officers concentrated their efforts on giving a good education to a few rather than undertaking any direct responsibility for the education of the masses.

[1] *Adam's Reports*, Calcutta Edition, pp. 357-8.

(*c*) *Thomason's Plan:* The only experiment for the development of mass education which escaped this general fate was the scheme prepared by Lieutenant-Governor Thomason of the North-Western Provinces. This is generally known as *Thomason's Plan* and deserves a careful study.

In a circular to District Officials issued in 1845, Thomason wrote that the means for educating the people were "at hand in the indigenous schools which are scattered over the face of the country. Their number may not at present be large, and the instruction conveyed in them is known to be rude and elementary. But these numbers may be increased and the instruction conveyed in them may be improved".[1] These sentiments are obviously the same as those of Adam, Munro and Elphinstone. But fortunately, he found a good support from the Governor-General and the Court of Directors. His proposals were not only *not* turned down, but were highly commended and he was allowed a free hand to develop education in the North-Western Province along his own lines. This is a pleasantly surprising development and is probably due to the fact that the Downward Filtration Theory was now being abandoned and that there was a liberal-minded Governor-General like Dalhousie to support him. To Thomason, therefore, belongs the credit of having made the Central Government and the Court of Directors accept the principle that the indigenous schools should be developed and improved as a means of spreading education among the people.

The second great achievement of Thomason was to levy a rate for the support of primary schools. The idea of taxation for school purposes was then new to India, and even in England no rate for education was levied until 1870. But as early as 1851, Thomason began to levy a rate for the support of primary schools. He avoided the necessity for legislation by making the landholders agree voluntarily to pay a tax of one-half per cent on land-revenue for the maintenance of schools and, later on, obtained the sanction of the Court of Directors to pay an equal amount from Government. Thomason, therefore, was the first officer in India to levy a local rate for schools and to pay it a grant-in-aid from Government treasury. The funds thus obtained were devoted to the maintenance of schools known popularly as *Halkabandi schools.* A Halka is a circle or

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. II, p. 237.

group of villages and the organisation of these schools is well explained in the following passage: —

The system of Halkabandi or Circle schools had been devised, previously to 1854, for the special purpose of meeting the wants of the agricultural population. Under this system, several villages conveniently situated for the purpose are grouped together, and in a central situation a school is established, which is not to be more than two miles distant from any of the villages forming the circle. For the support of these schools, the consent of the landowners was to be obtained to the appropriation of a small percentage on the amount of the Government revenue, one per cent being the amount paid, of which half was to be contributed by the landowners and half by the Government. The voluntary consent of the landowners was prescribed as an indispensable condition of the establishment of the system in any locality; and at the time of the outbreak in the North-Western Provinces in 1857, the requisite assent had been given to the scheme in many of the districts, and the sanction of the Home Authorities had been accorded (in 1856) to the proposal of the local Government that in the resettlement of the land revenue, the new plan should be universally introduced, and one per cent on the Government demand should be set apart in all the districts for the support of this hulkabandi system.[1]

The third idea that we owe to Mr. Thomason is the organisation of a regular Education Department. His plan for the inspection and improvement of indigenous schools, which was first introduced as an experimental measure in eight districts in 1850, is thus explained:—

There will be a Government village school at the headquarters of every Tahseeldar. In every two or more Tahseeldarees, there will be a Pergunnah visitor. Over these a Zillah visitor in each district, and over all a Visitor-General for the whole of the Province.[2]

It can easily be seen that the above arrangements were the precursor of the Education Department as it was organised after 1854.

These three great contributions (which constitute the *Thomason Plan*) make the work of Thomason extremely valuable and interesting to a student of educational history.

13. **The Education of Women.** Another important controversy of this period referred to the problem of the education of women. The almost complete absence of the education of women in the Indian society of the early nineteenth century has already been referred to earlier. Conditions appear to have been particularly bad in Bengal as Adam's Second Report testifies (*vide* Chap. I, section 12). Even in the literary census that Adam conducted, he found only 4 women literate (as against 21,907 men)

[1] *Despatch of* 1859, para. 19.

[2] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. II., p. 249.

in a total population of 496,974. Things appear to have been no better in Bombay where no girl pupils attending the indigenous schools were reported either in the enquiry of 1823-25 or in that of 1829 (*vide* Chap. I, section 7). Jervis, it is true, reports of the existence of domestic instruction of girls among some Muslim families and evidence has also been found to show that a similar custom existed among certain high caste Hindu families as well. But the actual numbers of women thus educated must have been infinitely small. Conditions were apparently better in Madras where Munro found that the "women of the Rajabundah and some other tribes of Hindus" were generally taught and the returns of the indigenous schools showed as many as 5,480 girls in a total enrolment of 184,110 (*vide* Chap. I, section 3). Even better is the report from the Punjab where the existence of special girls' schools in charge of women teachers was reported [*vide* section 3 (*e*) above]. For the rest of India, nothing is known. On the whole, therefore, it may be concluded that barring an extremely small number of women who received some rudimentary education either at home or in schools, general or special, almost the whole of the female population of the country was deprived of formal education.

The social position of women also was far from satisfactory. Among the Muslims, the evils of purdah and segregation were the chief obstacles to progress, although women had property rights and a liberal set of marriage and divorce laws. Among the Hindus, child-marriages were very common; women had very limited property rights and the marriage laws were far too unfavourable to women. The upper class women suffered from customs such as *Sati*, absence of divorce and an enforced asceticism for widows, while among the lower castes, customs like *Devadasis* and female infanticide prevailed to some extent. Over and above all these, there was, among all sections of the male population, a very strong social prejudice against the education of women. This was probably the greatest obstacle to be overcome before any headway could be made in spreading education among women.

Should the East India Company do anything to promote education among the women of India and to improve their social position?—this was the problem that faced the British officials of this period. The conservative among them refused to have

anything to do with the subject. They pointed out that the policy of the Company was one of strict social and religious neutrality; that the prejudices against the education of women which prevailed among the people were so strongly rooted in their social and religious life that any attempt to educate women would create a very great commotion; and that the first attempts of the Company should be restricted to the education of men who would themselves, at a later date, undertake the education of their womenfolk. The credit for having brought about a change in this conservative view goes to Lord William Bentinck and Lord Dalhousie. Bentinck courageously abolished the cruel custom of *Sati*; while Dalhousie decided that the open patronage of Government should be extended to the education of women. The following extract from his orders dated 11th April, 1850, gives an indication of his views on the subject:—

> 2. It is the opinion of the Governor-General in Council that no single change in the habits of the people is likely to lead to more important and beneficial consequences than the introduction of education for their female children. The general practice is to allow them to grow up in absolute ignorance, but this custom is not required or even sanctioned by their religion, and in fact a certain degree of education is now given to the female relatives of those who can afford the expense of entertaining special instructors at their own houses. . . .
>
> The Governor-General in Council requests that the Council of Education may be informed that it is henceforward to consider its functions as comprising the superintendence of native female education, and that wherever any disposition is shown by the natives to establish female schools it will be its duty to give them all possible encouragement and further their plans in every way that is not inconsistent with the efficiency of the institutions already under their management. It is the wish also of the Governor-General in Council that intimation to the same effect should be given to the Chief Civil Officers of the Mofussil calling their attention to the growing disposition among the natives to establish female schools, and directing them to use all means at their disposal for encouraging those institutions and for making it generally known that the Government views them with very great approbation.[1]

This view, as we shall see, was later on confirmed by the Despatch of 1854.

Official wheels always move slowly, and in spite of the above orders of Dalhousie, official efforts at the education of women made but slow progress till 1853.

14. **Conclusion.** It will be seen from the foregoing discussion that this was a period of controversies rather than of

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, pp. 59-60.

achievements. The East India Company was busy with commerce, conquest and consolidation, and it is hardly a matter for surprise if the Directors and Officials of the Company did not devote sufficient attention and money to the cause of education. Much of the time was taken up by discussions regarding the aims of education, the agencies to be employed, and the medium of instruction. The net achievements were insignificant as compared with the vastness of the population and the backwardness of its education. Even as late as 1855, the total number of educational institutions managed, aided or inspected by the Company was as small as 1,474 with only 67,569 pupils, and the total expenditure on education was not even one per cent of the total revenue. The only redeeming features of the situation were two: the large expansion of missionary educational enterprise and the small but valuable beginning of Indian private enterprise in the modern system of education. These topics, however, will be dealt with in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

NON-OFFICIAL ENTERPRISE IN EDUCATION (1813-53) AND WOOD'S EDUCATION DESPATCH (1854)

The history of the official attempts to educate the people of India in the period between the Charter Act of 1813 and Wood's Education Despatch of 1854 was described in the preceding chapter. We shall now describe the non-official attempts in the field of education (1813-53) and close the study of this period by summarising and evaluating the principal directions of the Education Despatch of 1854 which is the most important educational document under the Company and is even referred to, by some historians, as the "Magna Charta of English Education in India".[1]

The non-official attempts of this period can be grouped under four principal heads:—(*a*) the educational institutions conducted by the missionaries; (*b*) the educational institutions conducted by officials of the Company in their individual capacity or by non-official Englishmen resident in India; (*c*) the educational institutions of the modern type conducted by Indians themselves; and (*d*) the indigenous educational institutions. The official attempts to expand and improve the last group of educational institutions have already been studied in the preceding chapter. We shall now deal, in some detail, with the three remaining groups of educational institutions.

2. **Missionary Educational Enterprise (1813-33).** It was pointed out in Chapter II that the Charter Act of 1813 opened India to Missionary Societies. Consequently, the period from 1813 to 1833 was one of great mission activity in all parts of the Company's Dominions. The missionary societies that were already working in India expanded their activities and new societies came into the field. Among these latter, special mention must be made of the General Baptist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Mission and the Scotch Missionary Society.

[1]*Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, p. 364.

Three features regarding the educational work of the missionaries deserve special notice. Firstly, it must be remembered that education was never the *main* object of the missionaries. They aimed at conversions and were obliged to take up educational work in order to meet the needs of the converted population and, more especially, to train up Indian assistants for their proselytizing activities. Secondly, the importance which the early missionaries attached to the study of modern Indian languages deserves special mention. They had to work among the lowest classes of society who could not understand any language except their own. Hence the missionaries assiduously studied the Indian languages, prepared dictionaries, wrote books on grammar, and translated the Bible into them. It is worthy of note that most of the earlier mission schools gave instruction through the mother-tongue of the pupils and it never occurred to the Indian missionaries to say that "the dialects commonly spoken among the natives . . . are so poor and rude that . . . it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them"—a statement regarding the truth of which the Company's officials were entirely convinced! Consequently, the honour of having compiled the first school text-books in Indian languages goes to the missionaries. Thirdly, the missionaries did extremely valuable pioneer work in the field of the education of women—a "dangerous" area in which the officials of this period refused to tread. The wives of the missionaries and some women mission workers took the lead in this matter and began to work for the spread of education among women. This was done through three types of activities, *viz.*, (*a*) opening of day schools for Indian girls, (*b*) establishment of Orphan Homes, and (*c*) domestic instruction or *zenana* education in the families of the middle and higher classes.

Another important development of this period was that the relations between the Company and the missionaries began to improve slowly and steadily. Reference has already been made to the extremely strained relations that existed between them in the period from 1793 to 1813. But the Charter Act of 1813 turned a new page. The officials now realised that missionaries must be tolerated and allowed to work; on the other hand, the missionaries also appear to have shown better tact and discretion in their work of proselytization. Consequently, the relations between these two groups of workers improved considerably.

The Company not only recognised the utility of the educational work of the missionaries, but occasionally sanctioned grants-in-aid for it; the officials of the Company often worked hand in hand with missionaries on Societies established for the spread of education among the Indian people; and on the whole, it may be said that the distrust and hostility which were so significant a feature of the official attitude towards missionaries in the earlier period were now a thing of the past.

3. **Missionary Educational Enterprise (1833-53).** The freedom given by the Charter Act of 1813 had so far been taken advantage of principally by the missionary societies from the United Kingdom. But the Charter Act of 1833 brought missions from other countries also on the scene.[1] Prominent among them were the German and American missions. The *Basel Mission Society* began work at Mangalore in 1834 and soon extended its activities very largely in the Kannada and Malayalam territory. Other important German Societies were the *Protestant Lutheran Missionary Society* (founded at Dresden in 1836) and *Women's Association of Education of Females in the Orient* (founded in Berlin in 1842) both of which did considerable missionary work in India. Equally important was the appearance of the "well-manned and richly financed" American Societies amongst which may be mentioned the American Baptist Union, the American Board, and the American Presbyterian Mission Board North.

In the period prior to 1833, the elementary schools teaching through the modern Indian languages formed the bulk of missionary educational enterprise. But between 1833 and 1853, the missionaries shifted the emphasis to secondary schools and colleges teaching through English. This change was dictated by two considerations: the first was the belief, already referred to, that a study of Western science and literature would inevitably be followed by a conversion to Christianity and the second was the desire to convert the upper classes of the Hindu Society. The missionaries knew that the upper classes desired to study English for the worldly advantages it brought and that they would not mind joining a mission school (which they otherwise disliked)

[1] 'At the same time, India was thrown open to the whole world and any and every honest man who liked might settle there. This provision opened up India likewise to the missionary activity of other nations. It was in this year that the missionary labours of the Non-English Missionary Societies began in India'.—Richter: *A History of Missions in India*, p. 192.

for the sake of learning English. The mission schools and colleges, therefore, with their compulsory teaching of the Bible, gave the missionaries an excellent and probably their only opportunity to contact the boys and girls of the higher castes and to preach the Gospel to them. A lead in this direction was given by Alexander Duff, the greatest missionary of this period, who himself started an English school in Calcutta in 1830. Duff's faith in the potential power of English education to secure converts soon infected almost all the missionaries working in the field of Indian education and English schools conducted by missionaries began to multiply very rapidly after 1830. It was realised even then that the Indian pupils joined the missionary schools, not for the sake of religious instruction, but to learn English with a view to securing employment under Government. It was also soon discovered that the pupils put up with the compulsory Bible period as a matter of necessity and that they generally showed no interest in the teachings of Christ. But with the infinite patience and the incorrigible optimism that are characteristic of the missionary spirit, the workers of the Indian missions toiled in English schools in the hope that "some seed at least is sure a strike". The disillusionment came later—by about 1870—but, so far as the period under review was concerned, the hopes of a plentiful harvest of conversions through English schools ran high. Consequently,

the quarter century, 1830-57, is the *age of the mission school.* During that period the Government—in spite of the good intentions of Bentinck—lay really in an apathy which we find it hard to understand; for three years Lord Ellenborough was Governor-General, a man who regarded the political ruin of the English power as the inevitable consequence of the education of the Hindus! Hence at that time the mission school exercised a dominating influence over Indian Thought which it is difficult to estimate nowadays. In Bombay Dr. John Wilson (after Duff the most brilliant Scotch missionary of the day), founded the magnificent college which afterwards bore his name. At Madras Anderson and Braidwood opened the General Assembly's school in 1837, which, under the genial direction of Dr. Miller, the most famous educational missionary alive, has become the "Christian College". At Nagpur in Central India, Stephen Hislop opened in 1844 the fourth of his Society's colleges. In 1853 the Church Missionary Society founded St. John's College at Agra, the first principal of which was the future Bishop French; in 1841 Robert Noble opened the "Noble" College at Masulipatam. These were the most famous of the colleges which were erected in rapid succession in the most widely separated parts of the country under the direct influence and inspiration of Duff, to say nothing of other colleges like those built at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay by the National Church of Scotland.[1]

[1] Richter : *A History of Missions in India,* pp. 183-4.

This growth of missionary enterprise, whether in the sphere of proselytization or of education, was greatly facilitated by the cordial relations that prevailed in this period between the officials of the Company and the missionaries. This was due to two causes: *firstly*, the period of 1833-53 was one of great reforms and liberal ideas in the social life of England with the result that many of the Company's officials were themselves inspired by missionary zeal; *secondly*, the fear that interference with religious institutions would be greatly resented by Hindus and Muslims—it was this fear that had mainly led to the adoption of the policy of religious neutrality in the earlier decades—was not entertained seriously during this period. One test case was made out in the abolition of *Sati*. The opponents of this reform had argued that the attempt would lead to revolts. But nothing of the kind happened and enlightened Hindus came forward to support the reform and thank the Government. Another instance of successful intervention with the religious institutions lay in the management by the Company of rich Hindu temples and Hindu religious fairs—an act that aroused no opposition and brought some profits to the Company to boot. The officials of this period, therefore, were not afraid to associate themselves openly with the missionaries and encourage their efforts. The relations between the missionaries and the officials of the Company, therefore, were extremely cordial between 1833 and 1853—a fact that is in direct contrast to the strained relations that existed between them in the period from 1793 to 1813, or to the none too warm feelings that prevailed in the two decades between 1813 and 1833.

Fairly comprehensive statistics of missionary activity are available.[1] It will be seen from them that the mission activity in education was almost equal to official enterprise (which had 1,474 institutions with 67,569 pupils) if the Protestant organisations alone are considered. But the total mission activity in education—both Protestant and Roman Catholic—must certainly have exceeded the official enterprise. It would, therefore, be correct to say that, in 1854, the largest part of educational enterprise in India (indigenous schools apart) was provided, not by the Company, but by the missionaries. It can also be seen that the extent of mission activity varied from Province

[1] *Vide* Nurullah and Naik: *History of Education in India during the British Period*, pp. 177-8.

to Province. It was extremely widespread and strong in Madras partly because it began very early (1706) and partly because the extremely hard plight of the Harijans in the South provided a more fruitful soil for conversions. It was weakest in the Punjab, the next Provinces in order of increasing strength being Central India, N.-W.P., Bombay and Bengal.

4. **Claims of Missionary Enterprise (1813-53).** When Section 43 of the Charter Act of 1813 was passed, the object of Parliament was *not* to secure financial assistance to the missionary educational institutions (as some missionaries seemed to think), but to create a rival set of institutions conducted by the Company or by the Indian people in order that there may be "a reliable counterpoise, a protecting break-water against the threatened deluge of missionary enterprise". This object was generally kept in view between 1813 and 1853. That is to say, the Company spent the annual grant of a lakh of rupees (ten lakhs from 1833 onwards) in maintaining its own institutions and only rarely did it sanction any grants-in-aid to mission schools. Consequently, the two systems of modern schools, *viz.*, (*a*) the mission schools with their insistence on Bible-teaching and (*b*) the exclusively secular schools conducted by the Company grew up independently of each other between 1813 and 1853.

It soon became apparent that the schools of the Company would prove serious rivals to the mission schools. The former were secular and hence more popular with the Indian people than the mission schools whose emphasis on proselytization and Bible-teaching was both disliked and feared. Moreover, the schools of the Company could command large financial resources which the missions could never hope to do. The missionaries, therefore, realised that unless the competition between their schools and those of the Company was put an end to and unless their financial resources were strengthened, they had no chance of survival. They, therefore, put forward the following claims:—

(*a*) The Company's schools were secular, *i.e.*, "godless" or "heathen" in the usual missionary parlance. Such schools were positively harmful and, therefore, the Bible must be taught in all the schools of the Company;

(*b*) If this were not possible on political grounds, it was argued that the Company should withdraw from direct educational enterprise and leave the field clear for the mission schools;

(*c*) It was also argued that the Company's schools were necessarily costlier, so that it would be wiser to spend the available limited resources in giving grants-in-aid to mission schools than in maintaining State institutions;

(*d*) The missions, it was claimed, had always a *moral* right to receive a grant-in-aid from the Company. It was, therefore, argued that this moral right should be made a *legal* one by passing a Grant-in-aid Code under which an adequate financial assistance would be assured to every mission school;

(*e*) Finally, it was claimed that the ideal state of affairs in India would be one in which the Company would withdraw completely from direct educational enterprise and *all* the institutions required by the country would be provided by the missions on a grant-in-aid basis.

These claims ignored the private Indian enterprise altogether and were based on the misconception that the missions could do for India what the Churches did for the poor in England. But it took some years to realise these fallacies. For the time being, however, missionary influence in England and India was so strong and the relations between the officials of the Company and the missionaries were so cordial that all these claims were accepted in principle, as we shall soon see, by the Despatch of 1854.

5. **Private Educational Enterprise by British Officials and Non-officials.** We discussed missionary enterprise first because it was the oldest, and in so far as this period is concerned, the most extensive non-official agency in modern education. But the missionaries were not the only Europeans to work for modern education in India. To their group we must add a large number of British officials of the Company who worked in their individual capacity and a few British non-officials, chiefly businessmen, who assisted the cause of education either as a hobby or as a form of social service. Some of them sympathised with the missionary ideals and methods and assisted them. Their work need not be discussed here because it entirely partook of the character of the missionary endeavours which have already been discussed. But there were several British officials and non-officials who could not lend support to the missionaries either because they believed in secular schools or because they wanted to encourage private enterprise among the Indian people themselves. The work of this small group

of British officials and non-officials is even more significant than that of the missionaries although it is far less in quantity and deserves a close analysis.

Curiously enough, the pioneer British gentleman who tried to build up a new educational system for India, but on a plan different from that of the missionaries, was a humble watch-maker and jeweller from Calcutta, *David Hare* (1775-1842). His early education was far from satisfactory and he was not therefore, a "scholar" in the usually accepted sense of the term although he was generally well informed and had read some of the best English authors. Quite modestly, he used to describe himself as "an uneducated man friendly to education".[1] He came to India in 1800 and by 1815 had earned enough to enable him to retire from his profession. Instead of returning to England, however, he decided to stay on in Calcutta and devote the remainder of his life to the improvement of the people of India. What interested him more than anything else was the spread of education. Hare believed, like the missionaries, that a knowledge of the English language and an acquaintance with English literature was essential for the regeneration of the Hindu society; but being a secularist himself, he could not agree with them on the subject of religious instruction. It was, therefore, his view that India needed secular schools and colleges teaching the mother-tongue and English and spreading knowledge of English literature among the people. He had a contempt for Sanskrit and no great regard for scientific studies and, therefore, excluded them from his programme almost completely. It was to show the utility and practicability of such an experiment that he worked with zest all his life and carried out his most important educational project, the *Hindu Vidyalaya or College*. The most important object of this institution was to provide good English education to the sons of Hindu gentlemen and it was unique in two respects: Firstly, it was conducted by a committee consisting of Europeans and Indians and secondly, it was the first great attempt to provide collegiate education of the Western type on a purely secular basis. Owing to financial difficulties, however, the Vidyalaya was later handed over to the Company for management and became the Presidency College in 1854. But its early history is of great historical importance because it shows how

[1] H. V. Hampton: *Biographical Studies in Modern Indian Education*, p. 60.

attempts to provide secular education became more popular with the Indian people and brought forth their willing co-operation in all respects.

The main contribution of Hare to the cause of modern education is the principle of secularism. He found that all educational enterprise of his time was dominated by religion—the institutions conducted by the Company (like the Banaras Sanskrit College or Calcutta Madrassah) were dominated by the teaching of Hinduism and Islam, while the missionary institutions were dominated by Christianity. He was convinced that both these types were unsatisfactory and evolved a new system in which Bengali and English would be taught rather than Sanskrit and Arabic and all religious education would be positively eschewed. His contempt for Sanskrit was responsible for the exclusion of Oriental studies and his lack of scholarship for the neglect of the sciences. The whole object of the institution, therefore, was to emphasize the study of English language and literature. The institution met with a strong opposition from several quarters in the early stages. The exclusion of Oriental studies enraged conservative Indians; the failure to emphasize the study of science alienated the sympathies of others, while the missionaries challenged the desirability of excluding all religious instruction. But very soon, the practical advantages of Hare's concept became patent and the model of the Hindu Vidyalaya came to be generally adopted by the Company as well as by private Indian enterprise. The Company found that the principle of secularism enabled it to maintain its policy of religious neutrality, while the emphasis on the study of English language and literature enabled it to obtain servants for the Government Departments where English was being adopted as the language of business. Private Indian enterprise also found it convenient to follow the model of the Hindu Vidyalaya because a policy of secular education involved no administrative problems and because a subordination of scientific studies made the conduct of the institutions less costly and difficult. For several years to come, therefore, the modern educational institutions started in India, either by the Company or by private Indian enterprise, were based on Hare's model of the Hindu Vidyalaya, that is to say, secular educational institutions whose chief object was to acquaint the students with English language and literature. Scientific and Oriental studies

were included later on in varying proportions, and to that extent, the original design of Hare may be said to have been modified by later developments. But his concept of secularism remains the prominent feature of all Government (and most private Indian institutions as well) even to this day.

David Hare was a non-official and could, therefore, chalk out his own policy with freedom. The officials of the Company, on the other hand, had to work under several limitations. They could not, for obvious reasons, undertake any activity to which the Company was *directly* opposed. But they could certainly engage *individually* in any activity to which the Company did not object but which, for some reason or the other, it refused directly to undertake. Several broad-minded officials, therefore, organised or assisted, in their individual capacity, such educational projects as the Company would not countenance or support but which, in their opinion, were essential to the progress of India. A good illustration of this type of work is provided in the life of *J. E. D. Bethune* (1801-51) who was the Law-member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General and the President of the Council of Education from 1848 to 1851. He was keenly interested in the education of women but as the Company was not prepared to countenance any effort at the education of women, the channel of official enterprise was closed to him. Bethune was also convinced that respectable Hindus would never educate their daughters in the mission schools because of the missionary insistence on religious instruction. He, therefore, decided to establish a secular school for Indian girls in his own individual capacity and to bear all the expenses thereof.

The success of the school which began to function in May 1849 was almost phenomenal. Within a short time, it attracted a fairly large number of girls whose eagerness to learn, docility and quickness corresponded, in the opinion of Bethune, to those of the boys and even surpassed "what is found among European girls of the same age".[1] But even more important were two other results: enlightened Indians at once came forward to support the experiment and the example of the school began to be copied elsewhere. Bethune died at Calcutta in 1851 and, in his will, endowed the school with all the lands and property he had in the city. It was then taken over by Lord Dalhousie

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, p. 53.

who paid for it from his own private purse until the Company took it over. As a proper tribute to this great man, the school was permanently associated with his name and it soon developed into the Bethune College—a pioneer and important institution for the education of Indian women.

This experiment is but an instance from several educational experiments made by British officials working in their individual capacity. They are too numerous to be mentioned in a book of this type; and cover, not only education, but other branches of social service as well. Bethune's school should, therefore, be regarded, not as an individual institution, but as representative of a group of institutions started and financed by officials in their individual capacity, because their views were not acceptable either to the Company or to the missionaries. These attempts, it should be noted, exercised a greater influence on the Indian mind, on account of their transparent sincerity and secular character, than those made either by the Company or the proselytizing missionaries.

Of a different type was the experiment made by Mountstuart Elphinstone in Bombay. When he became Governor of the Province in 1819, he found that the only non-official body (excluding the missions) which tried to provide modern education to the people was the Bombay Education Society. This had been established in 1815 by members of the Church of England resident in Bombay with the principal object of training Anglo-Indian or poor European children. It began its activities by taking over the Charity School established in Bombay by Rev. Richard Cobbe in 1719 and by starting others. As the Society admitted Indian children also to its schools without compelling them to be present at religious instruction, many Hindu, Parsee and Muslim children attended them. By 1820, the Society conducted four schools for Indian children with about 250 pupils on their rolls. In the same year, the Society appointed a special committee, called the Native School and School Book Committee. The objects of this Committee were two-fold: to improve existing schools for Indian children and establish or aid new ones—wherever necessary; and secondly, to prepare books for the use of Indian children under instruction. By 1822, the Society's work for Indian children had grown considerably and it, therefore, rightly felt that it had undertaken activities which

went far beyond its original aims. Hence the special Committee appointed by it two years earlier was now formed into a separate Society called the Bombay Native School Book and School Society (known by the handier epithet of *Bombay Native Education Society* since 1827), to look after the education of Indian children and the parent Society restricted its activities to the education of European or Anglo-Indian children only. It was mainly the encouragement and guidance of Mountstuart Elphinstone that was responsible for this independent organisation of the B. N. E. Society. He also agreed to be its President and made the Directors sanction a grant-in-aid to the Society and accept it as the principal agency for the spread of education among the Indian people. It would be no exaggeration to say that it was this paternal interest of Elphinstone that enabled the B. N. E. Society to develop into an august body and, through its activities, give practical training to Indians in organising and conducting associations for the spread of education.

These efforts of Elphinstone show how some of the broad-minded officials of this period tried to develop private Indian enterprise in modern education. They were convinced that neither missionaries nor the Company could provide *all* the educational institutions which the country needed; that, after all, a people must educate themselves; that the very attempts to educate themselves form an important type of social education which a people can never obtain through a ready-made system of schools provided by an alien agency; and that private Indian enterprise must ultimately be developed to provide the bulk of the new educational institutions which were necessary to regenerate the country. They, therefore, took measures to bring forth and develop private Indian enterprise in education. The Indians of this period, it must be noted, were new to the modern methods of co-operative and organised educational enterprise and needed both initiation and guidance. This came readily from those enlightened officials of the Company who had a sense of duty to the country. They contacted leading Indians, convinced them of the necessity of private educational enterprise on modern lines, and showed them how to form and conduct societies for the purpose. Such a guidance was both necessary and valuable and could not have come from the missionaries partly because of their desire to monopolise the field and partly

because of their insistence on Bible-teaching; and had it not been for the fostering care of officials working in their individual capacity, private Indian enterprise in education would have taken a very much longer time to develop.

6. **Private Indian Enterprise in Education (1813-53).** Prior to 1854, private Indian enterprise in education was responsible for two entirely different types of activities. The first of these was the conduct of the indigenous schools—both higher and elementary—which still formed the most widely spread, the most numerous and the most important agency for the education of the people. But these were neither recognised nor assisted by the Company and in so far as the development of the modern system of education is concerned, this extensive activity of private Indian enterprise will just have to be ignored. The second type of private Indian enterprise was that which went to the building up of the modern system of education in India—an activity wherein, prior to 1854, Indians played a very minor role. This was due to a variety of circumstances. To begin with, the whole weight of conservative opinion was against the new system of education. The orthodox parents refused to send their children to English schools because they were afraid that English education made young men lose faith in the religious beliefs and practices of their forefathers—a fear that was not quite groundless. They even objected to the ideas from Western knowledge which were being spread through the Indian languages in the new type of primary schools and feared that all this new education was part of some secret plan to tamper with their religion. In these circumstances, it required an immense amount of moral courage to come forward to preach the utility of the new education or to conduct institutions based on the new ideals, and very few individuals could have such courage. Secondly, the educational institutions of the modern type could only be conducted by persons who were educated in the new system. The number of such Indians was very small and most of them could easily find a job in some important Government Department which at once brought them money, social status and executive authority. They were, therefore, naturally unwilling to start and conduct private schools which then, as now, were but an ill-paid form of social service. Thirdly, there were certain concepts prevalent at this time which created special

difficulties for Indian private enterprise, *e.g.*, it was believed that the Principals of English schools and colleges must be Europeans. This requirement could easily be fulfilled by the Company or by the missionaries. But how could Indians, even if they raised the necessary funds, find European employees to superintend their schools and colleges? This was probably the biggest stumbling block and it was overcome only when Government stopped demanding the employment of Europeans as Heads of schools and colleges and a band of Indians competent to hold such posts was created. But this result could be achieved only by 1880 or thereafter and in so far as the period under review is concerned, Indian private enterprise was at a great handicap in the conduct of secondary and collegiate institutions. Lastly, Indians were new to the co-operative organisation of educational institutions and were just having their first lessons in conducting modern educational institutions at the hands of a few liberal officials and non-officials, here and there, and they had not yet pooled together enough experience to show any substantial results. It is, therefore, hardly a matter of surprise that modern educational institutions conducted by Indians formed a very small minority even in 1854. What matters to students of history, therefore, is not the quantitative, but the qualitative and ideological aspects of Indian private enterprise and these can be very well illustrated through the life of Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

7. **Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833),** aptly described as the Father of Modern India, was born in Radhanagar in 1772. He came from an ancient and respectable Brahmin family and before he was sixteen years old, acquired a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. His study of sufi philosophy and the Koran had brought about such a change of views in him that endless disputes arose with his orthodox father and he, therefore, left his home and wandered about India for 3 or 4 years studying the religious beliefs and social practices of the people. But a conciliation soon took place and he returned home. Already in 1796, he had begun the study of English and later on, he also studied Hebrew and Greek in order to be able to study the New and Old Testaments in the original. In 1803, he lost his father and, in the following year, he joined the service of the Company and, by his industry and ability, soon

rose to the post of the Dewan—the highest post in the Revenue Department then open to Indians. He amassed a moderate fortune and in 1814 retired from service in order to devote all his time to the service of his motherland.

The next twenty years—between his retirement in 1814 and death at Bristol in 1833—form a crowded era of public service. Ram Mohan Roy's work touched several aspects of Indian life, and the following important services rendered by him to the country may be mentioned here:—

(*a*) He was a staunch opponent of the cruel custom of *sati* and lent strong and valuable support to Bentinck in abolishing it.

(*b*) He stood for a more equitable and humane treatment of women; advocated the grant of property rights to them; was a champion of their education; roundly condemned polygamy and, in his will, disinherited any son or descendant who would have more than one wife at a time; had his grand-daughter married at the age of 16 and was obviously opposed to child-marriage; had no faith in the alleged inferiority of women. In short, he was one of the earliest champions of women's rights in modern India and started a movement for their emancipation which gathered great momentum later on.

(*c*) He was a great religious reformer. Being a student of comparative religion, he found that all religions had several common points. On the basis of his study, he evolved a purificatory movement within Hinduism itself—the Brahmo Samaj. As Rabindranath Tagore observes, "He extended wide his heart, and invited Hindu, Mussalman and Christian there, for in the expanse of his heart there was no lack of space for any one of them. In this it was the real heart of India that he revealed and expressed in himself her truest character. For the truth of India is in the man who honours all and accepts all in his heart".[1]

(*d*) He was a pioneer among the nation-builders of modern India. He visualised an educated, cultured, rich and free India and tried to carry out certain reforms in the administrative system of his day. He advocated the use of English in law-courts, trial by jury, separation of the executive from the judiciary, and codification of criminal and other laws. As editor

[1] *The Father of Modern India*, p. 232.

of the Bengali Journal, *Sambad Kaumudi*, published in 1821, he may be regarded as the virtual "Founder of Modern Indian Press" whose liberty he strongly defended against official attacks.

We are more concerned here with the work of Raja Ram Mohan Roy as an educationist, and it is in this field that we find his most signal services to his country. He was one of the earliest Indians to realise that India's greatest need was a *synthesis* of Eastern and Western cultures. Being a great Sanskrit scholar himself and having been deeply convinced of the truth and greatness of the ancient and pure form of Hinduism, he would not be a party to the wholesale condemnation of Eastern culture and religion which was so fashionable in missionary circles, nor would he subscribe to the view that the Eastern culture must be replaced by the Western. At the same time, he understood that the Indian mind had rusted very considerably on account of its isolation and realised that contact with Western literature and science alone could regenerate Oriental culture, correct its follies and contribute to it the essential qualities which it lacked. He, therefore, saw (together with a few other men of vision) "the need of a new synthesis of the best that Europe and Asia had to give and strove, consequently, to weave into the tapestry of Indian life such threads from the spindles of the West, without bringing about a complete alteration in the pattern upon the Indian loom".[1] This great vision makes the Raja a prophet of modern India. It is true that this advice went unheeded for a time; but ultimately, it triumphed.

The second great contribution of the Raja to the modern system of education was to popularise a study of English language and through it, of Western science and literature. Although a great Sanskrit scholar himself, he deprecated all the official attempts to educate Indians through Sanskrit and Arabic and, as stated already in Chapter III, section 3 (*a*), petitioned the Government to abandon its project for Oriental education and to undertake the teaching of Western science and literature instead. It is true that he can claim no originality for this view and that it had already been put forward by men like Grant. But it must be remembered that the Raja's advocacy of the study of English and Western science and literature produced effects which were different from anything that had gone before. In

[1] Earl of Ronaldshay : *The Heart of Aryavarta*, p. 48.

the first place, he was a Hindu talking to other Hindus and this consideration alone made his appeal far stronger and more powerful than that of missionaries or officials whose motives were generally suspect. Secondly, he could overcome several fears which prevented the contemporary Hindu society from taking freely to the study of English or Western science and literature. The orthodox Hindus were afraid that such studies might make a young man an atheist, or a convert to Christianity or an unbalanced rebel against all tradition. The early examples of some educated Hindu youths confirmed these fears. Some of them became actual converts to Christianity; others remained within the Hindu fold but lost all devotion to traditional religion; while a large number led culturally unsettled lives and delighted in exhibiting the so-called *Western virtues* of eating beef or drinking wine. Ram Mohan Roy showed, both by precept and example, that these consequences were not inevitable in Western education. He proved that a synthesis of Eastern and Western cultures was possible and although his *method* of the synthesis was not acceptable to many, he could convince his co-religionists that Western education was not always culturally dangerous as it was supposed to be. He thus acted as one of the earliest *Indian* interpreters of the West to India.

Thirdly, he did an equal or even more valuable service in interpreting India to England. He tried his utmost to dispel the absurd notions which then prevailed regarding the nature of Hinduism, the poverty of the ancient literatures in Sanskrit, the lack of character and moral values among Indians, etc. His great learning, unimpeachable character, lucid and convincing exposition of his deep religious beliefs showed to Englishmen that it would be wrong to condemn summarily all Eastern learning and religion and that a judicious study of Oriental culture ought to have a place in the modern educational system of India—a view that was later on accepted by the Despatch of 1854 as well.

The fourth great contribution of the Raja to the system of modern education was his emphasis on the study of modern Indian languages. He himself gave a great lead in the matter by writing books in Bengali on Grammar, Geography, Astronomy and Geometry and he is considered as the father of modern literary Bengali prose. He was also the first to write theistic poems in Bengali. His advocacy of the study and development

of modern Indian languages, although unheeded for a long time, was certainly a great contribution to the educational thought of his times.

Equally able was the Raja's advocacy of the education of women. Although the concept had already been put forward by missionaries, it was the Raja who helped to popularise it among the Hindus. He took his stand on the old *shastras* and convincingly showed that in ancient times, the women of India were highly educated and that the education of women was in keeping with ancient religious traditions and beliefs. The Brahmo Samaj did great service in removing the popular prejudices against the education of women that were then prevalent in the Hindu society and the credit for this goes mostly to Ram Mohan Roy.

In 1830, the Raja went to England and gave very valuable evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1833. In this last great act of his life the Raja urged, among other reforms, the codification of civil and criminal laws and the appointment of Indians to important posts under Government. Both these proposals were accepted and incorporated in the Charter Act of 1833. In order to carry out the first, a Law-Member was added to the Council of the Governor-General and a little later, Macaulay came out to India as the first person to hold the post. On the second proposal, the Raja had lodged a strong protest against the policy of excluding Indians from all but the inferior posts under Government. This view of the only Indian who was in a position to place it before Parliament was also supported by several other British witnesses before the Committee and was, therefore, accepted without much difficulty. Section 87 of the Charter Act of 1833 provided "that no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company".

Unfortunately, this clause mostly remained on paper for several years. But that does not detract in any way from the signal service which the Raja did to the cause of political regeneration of India by making Parliament accept, in principle at least, the doctrine of the Indianisation of key-posts under Government.

It is for these and other valuable services that the Raja is called "The Father of Modern India".

8. **The Despatch of 1854.** It will be seen from the events of the period between 1813 and 1853 narrated in this and the preceding chapter that, by 1853, a stage had been reached when a comprehensive survey of the whole field of education in India was indispensable. Since the Charter Act of 1813, several educational experiments had been tried; a number of agencies had been at work, in their own ways, to spread education among the people; several controversies had been raised and some of them still needed a final decision; various policies for action had been proposed and they involved controversial issues which needed careful consideration. It was, in short, a time when the best results could be obtained only by holding a thorough and comprehensive review of the past and by prescribing, in the light of this review, a detailed policy for educational reconstruction in the future. This was exactly what the Education Despatch of 1854 did.

The occasion for the Despatch was provided by the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1853. At this time, as at the earlier renewals of the Charter in 1813 and 1833, a Select Committee of the House of Commons held a very thorough enquiry into educational developments in India. On the basis of this enquiry, the Court of Directors sent down their greatest Educational Despatch on 19th July, 1854. This document of immense historical importance is sometimes described as *Wood's Education Despatch* because it was probably written at the instance of Charles Wood who was then the President of the Board of Control. It is a long document of a hundred paragraphs and deals with several questions of great educational importance.

9. **Objects of Educational Policy.** To begin with, the Despatch explains why the Company undertook the organization of education in India and the results that it expected therefrom:—

Among many subjects of importance, none can have a stronger claim to our attention than that of education. It is one of our most sacred duties, to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England....

We have, moreover, always looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because calculated "not only to produce a higher degree

of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust"....

Nor, while the character of England is deeply concerned in the success of our efforts for the promotion of education, are her material interests altogether unaffected by the advance of European knowledge in India; this knowledge will teach the natives of India the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital, rouse them to emulate us in the development of the vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts, and gradually, but certainly, confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of wealth and commerce; and, at the same time, secure to us a large and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufactures and extensively consumed by all classes of our population, as well as an almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour.

10. **Controversy between the Anglicists and Classicists.** The Despatch then refers to the controversy between the Classicists and Anglicists in Bengal. It is worthy of note that the Despatch does not condemn the view of the Oriental party in a summary fashion as Macaulay did. It appreciates the advantages that spring from a study of the classical languages of India, and admits that "an acquaintance with the works contained in them is valuable for historical and antiquarian purposes, and a knowledge of the languages themselves is required in the study of Hindoo and Mahomedan law, and is also of great importance for the critical cultivation and improvement of the vernacular languages of India". It also mentions "the success of many distinguished Oriental scholars in their praiseworthy endeavours to engraft upon portions of Hindoo philosophy the gems of sounder morals and of more advanced science;"......and "the good effect which has thus been produced upon the learned classes of India, who pay hereditary veneration to those ancient languages". Nevertheless, the Despatch agrees with Lord Macaulay and points out that "the system of science and philosophy which forms the learning of the East abounds with grave errors, and Eastern literature is at best very deficient as regards all modern discovery and improvement;" and concludes the discussion with the following declaration:—

We must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe; in short of European knowledge.

11. **Medium of Instruction.** The question of the medium of instruction is next dealt with. The Despatch first explains how it became necessary in the beginning to use English as a medium of instruction "owing to the want of translations or adaptations

of European works in the vernacular languages of India and to the very imperfect shape in which European knowledge is to be found in any works in the learned languages of the East". It admits, however, that one evil result of the measure had been to create a tendency to neglect the study of the "vernacular languages". The Despatch then proceeds to repudiate the suggestion that English was used as a medium of instruction by the Company merely to suppress indigenous education or to discourage the study of Indian languages and shows how English and Indian languages *together* may help to spread proper education in India. It says:—

In any general system of education, English language should be taught where there is a demand for it; but such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the district, and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language; and while the English language continues to be made use of as by far the most perfect *medium* for the education of those persons who have acquired a sufficient knowledge of it to receive general instruction *through* it, the vernacular languages must be employed to teach the far larger classes who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, English. This can only be done effectually through the instrumentality of masters and professors, who may, by themselves, knowing English and thus having full access to the latest improvements in knowledge of every kind, impart to their countrymen, through the medium of their mother-tongue, the information which they have thus obtained. At the same time, and as the importance of the vernacular languages becomes more appreciated, the vernacular literature of India will be gradually enriched by translations of European books or by the original compositions of men whose minds have been imbued with the spirit of European advancement, so that European knowledge may gradually be placed in this manner within the reach of all classes of the people. We look, therefore, to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge, and it is our desire to see them cultivated together in all schools in India of a sufficiently high class to maintain a schoolmaster possessing the requisite qualifications.

It will be seen that all the three problems dealt with in the Despatch so far are old controversies, and that the Despatch does nothing more than to sum up the conclusions already reached.

12. **New Schemes.** (*a*) *The Education Department:* The Despatch then proceeds to explain the new schemes that were to be introduced. The first of these was the creation of a Department of Public Instruction in each of the five provinces into which the territory of the Company were divided at that time, *viz.*, Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the North-Western Province and the Punjab. This department was to be placed under an important officer to be called the Director of Public Instruction. He was to be assisted by an adequate number of Inspecting

Officers and was required to submit to Government an annual report on the progress of education in his province.

(*b*) *Universities:* The second scheme related to the establishment of Universities. As we have already seen, the proposal for the establishment of a University at Calcutta made by the Council of Education in 1845 was negatived by the Directors on the ground that it was then premature. But now they felt that the time for the establishment of Universities had arrived, because of the spread of liberal education among Indians and the requirements of an increasing European and Anglo-Indian population. The Despatch, therefore, directs that universities should be established at Calcutta and Bombay and states that the Directors were "ready to sanction the creation of a University at Madras, or in any part of India, where a sufficient number of institutions exist, from which properly qualified candidates for degrees could be supplied". All the Universities were to be modelled on the London University which was then an examining body. Their senates were to consist of a Chancellor, a Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows—all of whom were to be nominated by Government. The functions of the Universities were *mainly* to hold examinations and confer degrees. But it is extremely interesting to note that even at this early date the Despatch advised the institution of professorships in various branches of learning.

(*c*) *Establishment of a Network of Graded Schools all over India:* Having described the two new schemes mentioned above, *viz.*, the creation of the Education Department and the establishment of Universities, the Despatch proceeds to explain the network of graded schools which the Directors desired to spread all over the country. At one end of this gradation came the University and the affiliated colleges which gave instruction in various branches of art and science. Below these, came the high schools which gave instruction either through English or through a modern Indian language, and at the bottom came the indigenous primary schools.

The Despatch admitted that most of the attempts of Government in the past had been directed to the establishment of colleges which absorbed the greater part of the public funds that were then applied to education, and regretted the adoption of the Downward Filtration Theory which led "to too exclusive a

direction of the efforts of Government towards providing the means of acquiring a very high degree of education for a very small number of natives of India drawn, for the most part, from the higher classes". After stating that these higher classes may now be made to stand on their own legs, the Despatch observes:—

Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible, still more important, and one which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected, namely, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station of life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts, and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed, for the future, to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure.

To achieve this purpose, the Directors recommended a multiplication of High Schools. It is not generally understood that the Despatch visualized High Schools which imparted good general education through the Indian languages, but the following paragraph will make the whole position clear:—

We include these Anglo-vernacular and vernacular schools in the same class, because we are unwilling to maintain the broad line of separation which at present exists between schools in which the media for imparting instruction differ. The knowledge conveyed is no doubt, at the present time, much higher in the Anglo-vernacular than in the vernacular schools; but the difference will become less marked, and the latter more efficient as the gradual enrichment of the vernacular languages in works of education allows their schemes of study to be enlarged, and as a more numerous class of schoolmasters is raised up, able to impart a superior education.

Below the High and Middle Schools came the indigenous elementary schools which the Directors proposed to encourage by suitable grant-in-aid. In this connection, the Directors drew the attention of the Government of India to the plan for encouraging indigenous schools adopted by Thomason in the North-Western Province and recommended its adoption as largely as possible.

As a connecting link between these various grades of schools, it was proposed to institute scholarships to be given to promising pupils in order to enable them to continue their studies at a higher school or college. As the Despatch observes:—

Such a system as this, placed in all its degrees under efficient inspection, beginning with the humblest elementary instruction, and ending with the university test of a liberal education, the best students in each class of schools being encouraged by the aid afforded them towards obtaining superior education as the reward of merit, by means of such a system of scholarships as we shall

have to describe, would, we firmly believe, impart life and energy to education in India and lead to a gradual, but steady extension of its benefits to all classes of the people.

The above proposals of the Despatch have three important features—the rejection of the Downward Filtration Theory, the adoption of the modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the secondary stage, and the inclusion of indigenous schools as the very foundation of a national system of education. In all these principles, the Despatch marked a reversal of the retrograde policy laid down by Lord Auckland.

(d) *Grant-in-Aid :* Excellent as this scheme was, it was obvious that, when fully carried out, it would have involved the Company in an enormous expenditure which it would not have been able to bear without additional taxation. Unfortunately, the Directors shirked to face this problem squarely. They made a non-committal remark that they were prepared to sanction "a considerable increase in expenditure" for their new programme and naively believed that a policy of giving grant-in-aid to private effort would solve the difficulties in Indian education as it had solved those of mass education in England. They said:—

The consideration of the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India, and of the ready assistance which may be derived from efforts which have hitherto received but little encouragement from the State, has led us to the natural conclusion that the most effectual method of providing for the wants of India in this respect will be to combine with the agency of the Government the aid which may be derived from the exertions and the liberality of the educated and wealthy natives of India, and of other benevolent persons.

We have, therefore, resolved to adopt in India the system of grants-in-aid which has been carried out in this country with very great success; and we confidently anticipate by thus drawing support from local resources, in addition to contributions from the State, a far more rapid progress of education than would follow a mere increase of expenditure by Government; while it possesses the additional advantage of fostering a spirit of reliance upon local exertions and combination for local purposes, which is of itself of no mean importance to the well-being of a nation.

The Despatch then suggests certain general considerations in the light of which each Provincial Government was expected to frame its own rules of grant-in-aid. For instance, aid was to be given to all schools which—

(*i*) impart a good secular education, any religious instruction which they may impart being simply ignored;

(*ii*) possess good local management;

(*iii*) agree to submit to inspection by Government officers and to abide by such other conditions as may be prescribed; and

(*iv*) levy a fee, however small, from the pupils.

The discussion of the subject is then concluded in the following words:—

We look forward to the time when any general system of education entirely provided by Government may be discontinued, with the gradual advance of the system of grant-in-aid, and when many of the existing Government institutions, especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of, and aided by, the State.

One wonders at this emphasis on a grant-in-aid system at a time when Indian enterprise had hardly begun and missionary enterprise was quite out of proportion to the needs of the population. But the following comment of a missionary on this part of the Despatch is illuminating:—

In connection with the second definite move in the new Indian educational policy, the famous "Educational Despatch" of Sir Chas. Wood (later Lord Halifax) on July 19th, 1854, Duff exercised, along with his distinguished friend Sir Chas. Trevelyan, a definite influence. When the protracted and complicated negotiations anterior to the last renewal of the East India Charter were going on in 1852, Duff was in England, and he was accepted, even in Government circles, as a supreme authority on Indian affairs. Frequently consulted upon this question, he threw the whole weight of his personality into the balance in order that this *Magna Charta of Indian education* might pass into law....

For missions too this grant-in-aid system was of great importance. Whereas formerly, in spite of the benevolent decrees of a Bentinck or a Hardinge, the Government had been loath to grant financial aid to mission schools, *missions now had the additional claim of a legal right.* And as missionaries like Dr. Duff had a distinct influence in the shaping of the famous Despatch, it was perfectly clear that the main tendency of the new grant-in-aid system was to encourage the various missions to engage in the very congenial work of elementary education to a larger extent than ever before.[1]

In this connection, the attitude of the Despatch towards religious instruction is also worthy of note as it shows the official sympathy for missionary effort. So far as aided schools were concerned (which in those days meant missionary schools only) the Despatch desired that the Inspecting Officers should take "*no notice whatsoever*......of the religious doctrines that may be taught in any school". As regards Government institutions, the Despatch stated:—

Considerable misapprehension appears to exist as to our views with respect to religious instruction in the Government institutions. Those institutions were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India; and in order to

[1] Richter: *A History of Missions in India,* p. 180 (Italics ours).

effect their object it was, and is, indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular. The Bible is, we understand, placed in the libraries of the colleges and schools and the pupils are able freely to consult it. This is as it should be; and, moreover, we have no desire to prevent, or discourage, any explanations which the pupils may, of their own free will, ask from the masters upon the subject of the Christian religion provided that such information be given out of school hours. Such instruction being entirely voluntary on both sides, it is necessary, in order to prevent the slightest suspicion of an intention on our part to make use of the influence of Government for the purpose of proselytism, that no notice shall be taken of it by the inspectors in their periodical visits.

(e) *Training of Teachers:* The Despatch then proceeds to consider the question of securing properly qualified teachers for schools, and says:—

We cannot do better than refer you to the plan which has been adopted in Great Britain for this subject, and which appears to us to be capable of easy adaptation to India. It mainly consists, as you will perceive on reference to the Minutes of the Committee of Council, copies of which we enclose, in the selection and stipend of pupil-teachers (awarding a small payment to the masters of the schools in which they are employed for the instruction out of school hours); their ultimate removal, if they prove worthy, to normal schools; the issue to them of certificates on the completion of their training in those normal schools; and in securing to them a sufficient salary when they are afterwards employed as schoolmasters. This system should be carried out in India, both in the Government colleges and schools, and, by means of grants-in-aid, in all institutions which are brought under Government inspection....

Our wish is that the profession of schoolmaster may, for the future, afford inducements to the natives of India such as are held out in other branches of the public service.

13. **Education and Employment.** The question of giving encouragement to educated Indians is then taken up. The Despatch states:—

We have always been of opinion that the spread of education in India will produce a greater efficiency in all branches of administration by enabling you to obtain the services of intelligent and trustworthy persons in every department of Government; and on the other hand, we believe that the numerous vacancies of different kinds which have constantly to be filled up, may afford a great stimulus to education....

What we desire is that, where the other qualifications of the candidates for appointments under Government are equal, a person who has received a good education, irrespective of the place or manner in which it may have been acquired, should be preferred to one who has not; and that even in lower situations, a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot if he is equally eligible in other respects.

But, however large the number of appointments under Government may be, the views of the natives of India should be directed to the far wider and more important sphere of usefulness and advantage which a liberal education lays open to them; and such practical benefits arising from improved knowledge should be constantly impressed upon them by those who know their feelings and have influence or authority to advise or direct their efforts.

14. **Education of Women.** Finally, the Despatch offers a few suggestions regarding some other problems of education. For instance, the Despatch points out the necessity of providing suitable school books in Indian languages; the importance of vocational instruction and to that end, the need of establishing vocational colleges and schools of Industry; and the urgency of spreading education among women. With regard to the last of these, the Despatch observes:—

> The importance of female education in India cannot be overrated; and we have observed with pleasure the evidence which is now afforded of an increased desire on the part of many of the natives of India to give a good education to their daughters. By this means a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men. We have already observed that schools for females are included among those to which grants-in-aid may be given; and we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts which are being made in this direction. Our Governor-General in Council has declared, in a communication to the Government of Bengal, that the Government ought to give to the native female education in India its frank and cordial support; and in this we heartily concur and we especially approve of the bestowal of marks of honour upon such native gentlemen as Rao Bahadur Magahunbhai Karramchand who donated Rs. 20,000 to the foundation of two native female schools in Ahmedabad, as by such means our desire for the extension of female education becomes generally known.

15. **Criticism of the Despatch.** Such were the main provisions of this document of great historical importance. Its immediate effects were the creation of an Education Department in each province of British India and the establishment of Universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. It gave an impetus to secondary education and to some extent, to primary education also. It introduced the system of grant-in-aid and led to the establishment of training institutions for teachers. The Despatch is the last and the most complete of a series of historical documents which includes Grant's Observations, Section 43 of the Charter Act of 1813, Minutes of Lord Minto, Lord Moira, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Elphinstone, Sir Thomas Munro, Lord Macaulay and Lord Auckland. It forms a fitting close to the second period in the history of Indian Education in which the foundations of the present education system were laid. It affords us an excellent platform from which we can take a retrospective glance at the past and, as the late M. R. Paranjpe observed, it enables us "to find out how far we have achieved the educational objectives which the authors of the Despatch had in view, and to note the changes brought about in our educational objectives in the last hundred years, partly by mere

lapse of time and partly by the new environment created by the educational progress in the period".[1]

It is a matter for regret that some of the most important recommendations of the Despatch were not carried out for a long time; some were given effect to in a mutilated form; while some more have yet to be acted upon. The encouragement of Indian languages which it promised remained a pious wish for a long time to come and the languages spoken and understood by the masses continued to languish. The desire of the Despatch to evolve a policy of grant-in-aid which would enable Government completely to withdraw from the field of educational activities was more observed in breach than in fulfilment. As the late M. R. Paranjpe observes:—

> For over sixty years, however, Government institutions gradually increased in number and private enterprise was often discouraged rather than encouraged. During the first thirty years, *i.e.*, up to 1880, Christian missions were the only private agency in the field and Government did not have the courage to entrust the work of education to Christian missions whose primary aim was to secure converts to Christianity. The incidents of 1857 had demonstrated to Government the risk it ran in creating suspicion in people's mind regarding Government's attitude towards the religions of the people of India, and the Christian missions did not get the full measure of Government support although they continued to be the most favoured non-Government agency in the field of education.[2]

With the spread of education and new ideals of social service, Indian private enterprise began and multiplied. But Government was not prepared to hand over its schools and colleges to Indian management either, because it would not believe, in our opinion quite wrongly, in the capacity of Indians to conduct them efficiently.

The plans of mass education visualised by the Despatch were not realised, nor were High Schools imparting education through the medium of the mother-tongue established for more than seven decades. It may be pointed out that it is to these, and other omissions to give full effect to the provisions of the Despatch, that the origin of many of the defects of the present educational system can be traced.

It is also interesting to note how some of the sentiments expressed in the Despatch have grown obsolete. For instance, the Despatch speaks of education "suited to every station in life." This is quite intelligible as an ideal of the early Victorian

[1] *Progress of Education*, Poona, July 1941, p. 52.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

era when people believed in a "beautiful social order Providentially arranged" in which each person had a definite status according to birth or environment. But the idea jars upon a modern thinker who believes in equality of educational opportunity for all. Similarly, one is pained to find that the Despatch can only think of the India to come as the supplier of raw materials for British industries and as the consumer of the finished products of England. This is a position which hardly any self-respecting Indian would accept, either from the economic or educational point of view.

In pointing out these facts, let us not be misunderstood as belittling the work done or contemplated by the framers of the Despatch. We cannot, however, find any justification for the superlative terms in which some historians have described the Despatch and even called it "The Magna Charta of Indian Education". In our opinion, such a view betrays a lack of proportion. The Despatch, no doubt, did a lot towards the evolution of a good system of education in India according to the educational ideals then prevalent. But these ideals have changed so materially since then that it would help India very little to be now guided by the sentiments of the Despatch. As for calling it a Charter, one cannot do better than to quote the late M. R. Paranjpe who observes:—

> But in spite of all these good features it would be incorrect to describe the Educational Despatch of 1854 as an Educational Charter, *i.e.*, an official paper bestowing or guaranteeing certain rights and privileges. The Despatch does not ever refer to the ideal of universal literacy although it expects education to spread over a wider field through the grants-in-aid system; it does not recognize the obligation of the State to educate every child below a certain age; it does not declare that poverty shall be no bar to the education of deserving students; and while it may be admitted that employment in Government offices was not the object of English education as visualised in the Despatch, the authors did not aim at education for leadership, education for the industrial regeneration of India, education for the defence of the motherland, in short, education required by the people of a self-government nation. It was perhaps pardonable that the authors of the Despatch could not visualise the progress of Indian aspirations after a century—but that is admitting indirectly the imperfections of the Despatch. Whatever were its values in 1854, it would be ridiculous to describe the Despatch as an Educational Charter, in the year 1941.[1]

[1] *Progress of Education*, Poona, July 1941, pp. 51-2.

Chapter Five

THE VICTORIAN ERA
(1854-1902)

The Despatch of 1854 was at first looked upon as the beginning of a great era of educational reforms under the East India Company. But, as events actually turned out, it proved to be its swan song. The Departments of Public Instruction were constituted in 1855-6 and the Universities were incorporated in 1857. But before any further action could be taken on the terms of the Despatch, the Company ceased to be a political power in 1858 and the Government of India came directly under the Crown. Broadly speaking, therefore, education in India under the East India Company may be taken to have ended with the Despatch of 1854 itself.

2. **General Features of the Period from 1854 to 1902.** The Despatch of 1854, as pointed out in the last Chapter, took stock of the past and laid down long-range policies for future guidance. The directions of the Despatch continued to be followed in broad outline until the opening of the twentieth century when Lord Curzon started another new era in Indian education. The period of about five decades between the Despatch of 1854 and the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission by Lord Curzon in 1902 may, therefore, be described as the third period in modern education in India or, briefly, the *Victorian Era* in Indian Education.

As compared with India under the Company, this Victorian Era was a period of peace and tranquillity. Between 1813 and 1853, the main tasks of the British administrators were conquest and consolidation. It was, therefore, a period of almost continuous warfare. Anarchy and general unrest prevailed in several parts of India and law and order was restored only when these parts were conquered and brought directly under the British rule or indirectly under British influence through a treaty with their rulers. By 1854, however, the whole of India had been either conquered by the Company or brought under its influence and law and order were restored everywhere. But for the events

of 1857, no further wars were fought on the Indian soil during the period under review[1] and a background of peace and social security which is so essential a prerequisite of educational progress was maintained throughout.

The second feature of this period which distinguishes it from the earlier one is the *grateful* attitude of the Indian people towards their British *conquerors*. Prior to 1854, the Indian people and the Britishers had never come together close enough to understand each other. The Indian attitude towards the British varied from place to place, from time to time, and from one individual or social class to another. It was sometimes that of hostility, sometimes of awe, but most often of suspicion and distrust. There was a general unwillingness (except on the part of a few persons of the upper classes) to study the language of the conquerors, to understand their culture, and generally to come into closer relations with them. After 1902, there was again a parting of the ways because the national sentiment had been reawakened and the Indian people had begun their *war* against their British rulers. But between 1854 and 1902, we generally find the most harmonious relations existing between the rulers and the ruled. The Indian people were sick of the anarchy that had followed the disruption of the Mughal Empire and, more than anything else, needed a strong government that would maintain law and order. As the British rule supplied this prime and urgent need, all its inconveniences and shortcomings were forgotten and the people blessed the British conquest of India and hailed it as their good fortune. There was also a general feeling that the British connection with India should continue indefinitely and that it would ultimately lead to great progress and happiness of the Indian people. The earlier attitude of distrust and suspicion, therefore, gradually disappeared and an admiration of Western culture and science in general and English literature and history in particular began to gain ground instead. This combined feeling of gratitude, loyalty and admiration was quite satisfying to Englishmen as well because it made them feel that they were serving some divine and altruistic purpose in conquering and administering India. There were, of course, a few significant exceptions to this general picture. Some

[1] The Afghan and Burma Wars, although fought in this period, were small affairs on the whole and they did not at all affect the mainland of India.

sections of the Indians had never really reconciled themselves to British rule; others had the vision to see the deficiencies of foreign rule and to ask for self-government, although at some distant date. The Indian National Congress had already been established in 1885 and several nationalist leaders, like Dadabhai Naoroji, were already criticising the *un-British* character of the Indian administration. But these early signs of the coming storms were a minor phenomenon and it would be generally correct to say that, during this period, the attitude of the Indian people towards British rule was broadly one of loyalty, gratitude and admiration, as compared to that of fear, distrust or suspicion between 1813 and 1853 and of open hostility after 1902.

The third distinctive feature of this period is that the centre of interest in education now shifted from London to Calcutta. Prior to 1854, most educational questions had to be referred *Home* for the orders of the Court of Directors. A reference to the historical events narrated in Chapters II to IV will show that (*a*) every important question was decided, before 1854, by a Despatch from the Directors in London, and (*b*) that Parliament showed very keen interest in Indian education, particularly when the Charters of the Company were renewed in 1698, 1793, 1813, 1833 and 1853. This Parliamentary interest in Indian affairs in general, and in Indian education in particular, was reduced to the lowest level as soon as the governance of India was transferred to the Crown. It is true that the Secretary of State for India—the new officer who took the place of the Court of Directors as well as the President of the Board of Control—wrote the Educational Despatch of 1859 and supervised Indian education in a general manner just as he supervised all other departments of the Indian administration. But his control was very broad and general and, therefore, the most effective authority in Indian education after 1858 was the Government of India, rather than any authority at *Home*.

Between 1854 and 1902, we find a good deal of evidence to show that the Central Government took a very keen and continuous interest in education. For instance, the Despatch of 1854 was followed, in 1855, by the appointment of a *Central* Committee to plan the universities; in 1857, the Indian Universities were established by Acts of the Central Executive Council. From 1865-6 to 1870-1, the Government of India

held, through special officers, detailed surveys of education in India. In 1882, the Indian Education Commission was appointed by the orders of the Central Government. In 1886-7, 1891-2, 1896-7 and 1901-2 appeared four quinquennial reviews held by the Government of India regarding the progress of education. Moreover, the Government of India also passed hundreds of resolutions on educational matters during this period because its sanction was necessary to every important decision or change of policy. This general trend will be illustrated by several examples narrated in the course of the next three chapters; but it would be enough to state here that the years between 1854 and 1902 witnessed an almost complete loss of interest in Indian education on the part of the British Parliament, its place being taken by the keen and intensive interest which the Government of India now began to take in educational matters.

Fourthly, this period was one of general financial stringency —a feature in which it resembled the earlier period between 1813 and 1853. The reasons for the stringency were, however, different. Prior to 1853, the financial stringency of the Company was mainly due to the heavy military expenditure which had to be incurred on the conquest of India, and to the general unsettled condition of the country, not to speak of the very natural desire of the Directors of the East India Company not to allow their dividends to get smaller. Between 1854 and 1902, however, the only wars were the events of 1857, and the Afghan and Burma wars whose financial implications were not so heavy and law and order was maintained everywhere. The revenues of Government, therefore, expanded considerably during this period; and yet, adequate finances for education could never be found and Government was almost always complaining of the shortage of funds. The explanation of this paradox lies in a number of factors among which the following may be mentioned:—

(*a*) Between 1854 and 1902, the financial administration in India was extremely defective. Consequently, education could not secure liberal and ever-increasing grants.

(*b*) Between 1854 and 1870, the budget of the Central Government had, more often than not, a deficit, and after 1870 also, the situation did not improve because of the Afghan and Burma wars and the famines and the plague which affected most parts of India. These political situations and natural calamities

worsened the financial position of the Central Government and restricted the funds available for education.

(*c*) British administration failed to develop the potential industrial resources of the country because its objective, as frankly stated by the Despatch of 1854, was to develop India as a supplier of raw materials to England and the buyer of her finished goods. This lack of industrial development naturally led to a very great contraction of the wealth available for taxation.

(*d*) The policy of the Government in taxation was not very progressive. The poor were heavily taxed through taxes like land-revenue, local fund cess on land-revenue, the salt-tax, etc. But the rich did not pay their share to a like extent—a factor that again led to the diminution of national public income and resulted in contracting expenditure on education and such other utility services.

A detailed financial history of this period is beyond the scope of this book; but what has been stated above is enough to show that the financial stringency of this period was only partly due to wars and mainly to defective system of financial administration, failure to develop the wealth of the country, natural calamities like plague and famine, and a regressive and unsatisfactory taxation policy. But whatever the reasons may be, their inevitable result was to contract materially the funds available for education and to hamper its progress.

True, the shortage of Government funds for education was sought to be made good, in this period, by securing additional funds from (i) the levy of local fund cesses in rural areas, (ii) contributions of municipalities in urban areas, (iii) fees and (iv) donations from the public. A detailed account of these developments will be given, in the relevant context, in the following chapters. It may be admitted here, however, that these sources of revenue did make up, to some extent, for the inadequacy of Government grants—particularly in the field of secondary and collegiate education. But they were still very meagre and could hardly atone in full for the extreme inadequacy of the Government grant for education. In spite of these new resources, therefore, financial stringency continued to dominate the educational scene and hold up progress at every point, but most of all in mass education.

Finally, this period differed from the earlier one in its comparative freedom from controversies, and its greater record

of achievements. As shown in Chapters II to IV, the period from 1813 to 1853 was mainly one of violent controversies and experiments and its achievements in terms of institutions started or pupils educated were inconsiderable. This aspect changed materially after 1854. The Despatch of 1854 laid down educational policies in such detail that several controversies were effectively sealed up and the ground for a rapid advance in education was prepared automatically. It is, of course, true that even this period is not altogether free from controversies—some of which were carried over from the preceding period and others were newly raised. This, in a way, is inevitable, because every age in education has its own problems and raises its own controversies. But nevertheless, the period between 1854 and 1902 may be said to be more a period of achievements than of controversies. It witnessed the establishment of five Universities in India—at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Allahabad and Lahore; it brought into existence an Education Department in each Province which, by 1902, had established a fairly detailed and satisfactory system of the supervision of private educational enterprise and, in addition, conducted a large number of educational institutions under its direct control; it saw a very rapid expansion of collegiate and secondary education and a tremendous increase of private Indian enterprise in this field; it started the collection of special taxes for education and saw a large increase in primary schools of the modern type; it witnessed significant developments in vocational education and in the education of such erstwhile backward groups as Muslims, Harijans, aboriginals and women. These advances, which by no means exhaust the whole list, indicate that this was a period of steady educational development in which controversies played but a minor role. In fact, had it not been for the financial stringency that was so conspicuous a feature of the situation, the achievements of this period might have been greater still.

3. **Main Documents of the Period.** From this survey of the broad general features of the period, we shall now turn to a study of the important documents which surveyed or influenced its events and policies.

The Despatch of 1854 whose provisions were analysed in detail in the preceding chapter, forms not only the starting, but the dominating point for the period as a whole. Right up to the

time of Lord Curzon, we find the Despatch of 1854 being continuously quoted or referred to in all educational controversies for the authoritative decision of principles or policies. The mere fact that a certain policy was recommended by the Despatch of 1854 was assumed at this time as perfectly good evidence of its validity, and the most rigorous proof was demanded for every variation proposed. This does not mean that *all* the injunctions of the Despatch were carried out. As shown earlier in Chap. IV, section 20, several important directives of the Despatch were observed more in breach than in fulfilment. All the same, it may be said that, between 1854 and 1902, the educational policy in India was chiefly dictated by the Despatch of 1854.

The next document is a *Despatch, dated* 28*th April*, 1858, *from Lord Ellenborough*, the President of the Board of Control. It was written shortly after the "Mutiny" and is a panicky document which tried to reverse the policies laid down by the Despatch of 1854 on the ground that they had led to the events of 1857. Fortunately, a better sense of reality soon dawned and its recommendations were never acted upon.

In 1859 came the third important document of this period —*Lord Stanley's Despatch of* 1859. The occasion for the Despatch was the transfer of the governance of India from the Company to the Crown (1858). Such a major change of administration required that the new authorities should review the existing policies in education and either confirm or amend them as early as possible. Such a review had become all the more urgent since the Despatch of Lord Ellenborough had raised doubts regarding several important policies enunciated in the Despatch of 1854, *viz.*, necessity of direct official attempts for mass education, encouragement of the education of women, grants-in-aid to mission schools, etc., and recommended that the Downward Filtration Theory be continued, that the education of women be not interfered with and that no assistance be given to mission schools. Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State for India, reviewed the whole position, confirmed all the directives of the Despatch of 1854 (except in so far as primary education is concerned) and put an end to the storm raised by Lord Ellenborough.

Fourteen years later, in 1883, came the next important document of this period—the *Report of the Indian Education*

Commission. The appointment of this Commission was necessitated by two reasons: the first was the desire of the Government of India to review in a comprehensive manner the development of education in India since the Despatch of 1854. In the earlier period, the Charter of the Company came for renewal every 20 years and provided an occasion for an exhaustive review of education. With the abolition of the Company, that opportunity was lost; but it was felt that the old practice of periodical reviews was healthy and useful and, in 1882, the Indian Education Commission was appointed for the purpose. The second reason for the appointment of the Commission was the agitation conducted by the missionaries, particularly in England, to the effect that the educational system of India was not carried on in accordance with the Despatch of 1854. This agitation necessitated an enquiry and the Commission of 1882-83 served the purpose.

As stated before, the Central Government held comprehensive quinquennial reviews of education in India in 1886-87, 1891-92, 1892-97 and 1901-02. These are very useful documents, comprehensive, reliable and detailed. But they did not try to formulate the influence policies.

It will be seen from the foregoing account that the educational policies between 1854 and 1902 were formulated by two main documents only—the Despatch of 1854 and the Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882-83—which are complementary to each other. The first of these is already studied in Chapter IV. The principal recommendations of the second will be enumerated and discussed in the course of this and the next chapter at the appropriate places.

4. **Main Events of the Period 1854 to 1902.** The principal educational events of the period between 1854 and 1902 were the following :—

(*a*) Organisation of the Education Department;

(*b*) Indianisation of the agency to spread education among the people;

(*c*) Development of the system of grant-in-aid;

(*d*) Establishment of the Universities and substantial extension of collegiate and secondary education;

(*e*) Westernisation of the content of education and its results;

(*f*) Neglect of indigenous schools leading to their almost complete disappearance by 1902; the creation of a new system of primary schools instead, supported partly by local rates and fees and partly by Government grants; and

(*g*) Development of education among women, Muslims, Harijans, and the aboriginals, and the development of modern education in Indian States.

The first three of these topics will be dealt with in this chapter and the remaining in Chapter VI.

5. **The Organisation of the Education Department (1854-1902).** In accordance with the orders of the Despatch of 1854 steps were soon taken to form an Education Department in every Province of India as it then existed and, by 1856, the new system was fairly at work. Owing to increase in territories or administrative reorganisation, new provinces were created in India from time to time. After 1854, however, it became a rule to create a new Education Department as soon as a new Province was created. The functions of these newly created Provincial Departments of Education were the following:—

(*a*) to advise the Provincial Government on all educational matters;

(*b*) to administer the funds allocated to education by the Provincial and Central Governments;

(*c*) to conduct certain educational institutions directly under the authority of Government;

(*d*) to supervise and inspect the working of private educational institutions which applied to the Departments for grants-in-aid or recognition;

(*e*) to compile annual reports on the progress of education within their jurisdiction along with the necessary statistics and to publish them; and

(*f*) generally to take all such steps as were necessary to improve and expand education.

Between 1854 and 1896, the salient features of the organisation of the Provincial Education Departments were the following:—

(*a*) All the superior posts were held by Europeans, in spite of the fact that a demand for Indianisation was

continually being put forward (especially after 1885 when the Indian National Congress was founded);

(*b*) The emoluments offered and conditions of service were not generally very attractive so that competent scholars from England did not ordinarily think of joining the Education Departments in India;

(*c*) The staff of the Department was always found to be inadequate because financial stringency prevented Government from expanding the Department in proportion to the increase in schools and pupils; and

(*d*) Consequently, the control and supervision of the Department over private schools was not as strict or as thorough as might have been wished.

A noteworthy event of these years was the creation of the *Indian Educational Service* in 1896. This was an All-India Service and was recruited in England by the Secretary of State for India and was given a handsome scale of pay. Consequently, most of the posts in the Service were held by Englishmen although it was theoretically open to Indians to go to England and seek entrance to it in open competition. Its avowed purpose was to attract capable persons from England to work in India. It did not succeed in this aim and, if anything, the officials that went before 1896 were much superior to those that came in afterwards; but unhappily enough, it gave Englishmen a monopoly of most of the higher posts in the Department—a feature that came in for a good deal of well-deserved criticism at the hands of the Indian people.

6. **Agencies to Spread Education among the Indian People.** The different agencies that were engaged, during this period, in the task of spreading education among the Indian people are (*a*) Missionary educational enterprise; (*b*) Educational enterprise by officials in their individual capacity; (*c*) Educational enterprise by Indians on modern lines; (*d*) Educational institutions conducted by the Education Department; and (*e*) Indigenous educational institutions.

Of these, the educational enterprise of the officials, conducted in their individual capacity, disappeared completely during this period. On the transfer of the government to the Crown, the rules for the conduct and discipline of Government servants

which naturally became more strict and began to be more rigorously enforced, did not generally leave much scope for *pioneer* work in individual capacity. Moreover, the need for this type of work also disappeared in course of time. Its main purpose, as stated already, was to bring forth Indian private enterprise and to initiate it in the art of conducting educational institutions on modern lines. By 1902, Indians had fully assimilated this technique and, as will be seen later, were dominating the whole field of private educational enterprise. Official guidance in this matter was no longer needed now, although it had served a useful purpose prior to 1854, and hence there is hardly any need to regret its exit.

Another activity which disappeared during this period almost completely was the vast network of indigenous educational institutions. In spite of the directives of the Despatch of 1854 and the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission, the indigenous schools were generally neglected, and by 1902, they disappeared almost completely from the scene. The detailed history of this unhappy development will be given in Chapter VI; and it would be quite enough to state here that the only educational system that survived and progressed during the period under review was the new system of education whose ideal was to spread Western knowledge and science through the medium of English. In this branch of educational activity, the missionaries reigned supreme in 1854, Government efforts came next, and private Indian enterprise occupied the lowest place. But in the next five decades, a great revolution came about. The missionary efforts thrived for a time; but their expansion was soon restricted on account of the non-fulfilment of the great hope of proselytization which was expected to result from English schools, the lack of sufficient encouragement at the hands of Government, and the unwillingness of many missionary bodies to conduct educational activities for non-Christian children; the direct efforts of Government were also limited by financial and administrative considerations; and it was Indians alone who availed themselves most of the system of grant-in-aid, especially after the report of the Indian Education Commission of 1882. Private Indian enterprise, therefore, occupied the first and the most important place in almost all branches of educational activity even as early as 1902. This great revolution in modern

education is one of the most important achievements of this period and its history can be conveniently studied under three heads, *viz.*, (*a*) Missionary educational enterprise; (*b*) Official enterprise in education; and (*c*) Private Indian enterprise.

7. **Missionary Educational Enterprise (1854-1882).** The Despatch of 1854 had aroused hopes of a great era of expansion in which Government would eventually withdraw from direct educational enterprise and the missionary schools, supported by liberal grant-in-aid, would cover the whole country. But a sad disillusionment followed within a few years. The events of 1857 led to an agitation in England that missionary activities should not be encouraged and that a policy of strict religious neutrality should be adopted in India. The missionaries, on their part, made great attempts to push forward their claims. But political considerations prevailed and the missionaries lost the battle. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 adopted a policy of strict neutrality in religious matters and gave an assurance to the people that Government had neither the right nor the desire to impose Christianity upon India.

Between 1858 and 1882, therefore, the policy of the Department was marked by an unsympathetic attitude to mission schools and the officials of those days,—many of whom were agnostics or lacking in missionary zeal,—made it difficult for the missions to work either within the system or without it. For instance, here are some of the difficulties which missionaries experienced while working *within* the official system:—

We cannot, however, pass over the fact that there were great disadvantages bound up with the new school system. Whereas in the first few years the Government preferred to appoint missionaries as inspectors of schools, yet later on, and especially after the great Mutiny of 1857, it turned its back almost entirely upon them, no doubt out of exaggerated religious neutrality, and chose with predilection Englishmen indifferent to religion or non-Christian Brahmans for these positions. As the yearly grants—the hinge on which the new system turned—depended on the result of the annual visitations and examinations conducted by these gentlemen, it came about that mission schools, for instance, were often in a state of very undesirable dependence on the goodwill or the good temper of officials who were antagonistic to missions. How much caprice and party spirit it was possible to exercise in the conducting of examinations, the inspection of school buildings, and the criticism of the school staff! How much vexation and worry were thereby set in motion! . . . It was also a direct consequence of the uniformity aimed at by Government—a consequence that also worked remarkably for the convenience of the inspectors!—that the text-books recommended by those in authority were introduced practically everywhere; these text-books were for the most part neutral as to religion even, if not directly

antagonistic to Christianity, and their introduction simply meant that the books compiled at great pains by the missionaries were crowded out of existence.[1]

Similarly, the Department often followed a policy of direct competition which made it impossible for the missionaries to work *independently* of the official educational system. Richter narrates the following interesting account of one of such experiments :—

They (*i.e.*, missionary schools) now found in the rapidly developing educational schemes of the Government an all-powerful rival. What position should they take up with regard to it? The mission school has of necessity two main objects which the Government neither can nor will include in its programme—the dissemination of a fundamental knowledge of Christian teaching, and the training of a body of native assistants. It seemed to be the best solution of the difficulty for the two to pursue their schemes amicably but separately, and for the missionaries to endeavour to render their school system independent and up-to-date. The Basel Missionary Society after a short-lived enthusiasm for the new Government scheme, which was shared at that time by nearly all the Societies, was the first to take action along these lines. In 1860, it severed its connection with the Government system, and reorganised its schools along its own lines. The results were overwhelming. On entering upon this new policy the Basel Society had hoped, perhaps in too sanguine a fashion, to gain possession of the whole school system in the provinces where it laboured. But instead of this the Government wrested from them the direction of all things educational, even in the midst of their main spheres of activity, Kanara and Malabar. First of all, the English school at Cannanore had to be given up because the Government had erected a similar one in the same place (1861). Then at the English school in Kanara there were not enough missionaries who, in addition to the ordinary school subjects, were sufficiently masters of English language and literature to satisfy the demands of the Government for a provincial school of this type. The English school at Calicut was simply crushed out of existence, owing to an elaborate school plan set down by the Government in the immediate neighbourhood. In the native schools such thorough-going reforms were insisted upon that, of 1,450 scholars in 1862, only 648 remained in 1866. In 1867 the missionaries sent an urgent request to the Missionary Committee asking for re-union with the Government educational system, and the Committee complied, though with heavy hearts, in order that the missionaries might not be driven to the wall, and robbed of all influence upon the rising generation. Thus an educational scheme apart from that of the Government proved an impossibility; against such rivalry it was unable to hold one's own.[2]

It was these difficulties that made the missionaries start an agitation, both in England and in India, to the effect that the educational administration of India was not carried on in accordance with the Despatch of 1854 which had recommended the closure or transfer of Government schools, that the officials were competing with missionary enterprise to such an extent that the latter was threatened with extinction, and that the secular

[1] Richter : *A History of Missions in India*, p. 308.
[2] Richter : *op. cit.*, pp. 312-13.

educational institutions of Government were *Godless* and *irreligious*. It was this agitation that led to the appointment of the Indian Education Commission in 1882, and it was called upon to decide the following specific issues in this connection:—

(*a*) Should Government withdraw from direct educational enterprise in favour of missionaries, as the Despatch of 1854 had led some of them to hope?

(*b*) What should be the policy of Government in religious education? Should it be imparted in schools or not? If it was to be imparted, in what form and subject to what conditions was it to be allowed?

Each of these issues figured prominently in the deliberations of the Commission and taken all in all, the missionaries lost the war although they did win a battle or two.

8. **The Position of Missionary Enterprise in Indian Education.** On the first of these issues, the opinion of the Commission went against the missionaries. On a careful consideration of the problem, the Commission came to the conclusion that missionary educational enterprise can only occupy a secondary place in Indian education and that Government should not withdraw in favour of missionary managements. It said:

The question how far the withdrawal of the State from the direct provision of means of higher education would throw such education into the hands of missionary bodies, held the foremost place in all the evidence bearing on the topic of withdrawal. Prominent officers of the Department and many native gentlemen argued strongly against any withdrawal, on the ground that it must practically hand over higher education to missionaries. As a rule the missionary witnesses themselves, while generally advocating the policy of withdrawal, expressed quite the contrary opinion, stating that they neither expected nor desired that any power over education given up by the Department should pass into their hands. In a country with such varied needs as India, we should deprecate any measure which would throw excessive influence over higher education into the hands of any single agency; and particularly into the hands of an agency which, however benevolent and earnest, cannot on all points be in sympathy with the mass of the community.... At the same time we think it well to put on record our unanimous opinion that withdrawal of direct departmental agency should not take place in favour of missionary bodies and that departmental institutions of the higher order should not be transferred to missionary management.... In the point of view in which we are at present considering the question, missionary institutions hold an intermediate position between those managed by the Department and those managed by the people for themselves. On the one hand, they are the outcome of private effort, but on the other they are not strictly local; nor will encouragement to them directly foster those habits of self-reliance and combination for purposes of public utility which it is one of the objects of the grant-in-aid system to develop. Missionary

institutions may serve the great purpose of showing what private effort can accomplish, and thus of inducing other agencies to come forward. They should be allowed to follow their own independent course under the general supervision of the State; and so long as there are room and need for every variety of agency in the field of education, they should receive all the encouragement and aid that private effort can legitimately claim. But it must not be forgotten that the private effort which it is mainly intended to evoke is that of the people themselves. Natives of India must constitute the most important of all agencies if educational means are ever to be co-extensive with educational wants. Other agencies may hold a prominent place for a time, and may always find some place in a system in which great variety is on every ground desirable. But the higher education of the country will not be on a basis that can be regarded as permanent or safe, nor will it receive the wide extension that is needed, until the larger part of it at all events is provided and managed by the people of the country for themselves.[1]

This recommendation is of very great importance because it decided, once for all, that missionary activities can only have a subordinate place in a national system of education in India. It was in this recommendation that the missionaries "caught a tartar" as the late M. R. Paranjpe put it. The Despatch of 1854 had led the missionaries to believe that they would ultimately provide for all the educational needs of the country. These hopes were shattered completely by the above recommendation of the Indian Education Commission which soon became the official policy in the matter.

9. **Religious Education.** Allied to this problem of Government withdrawal from direct educational enterprise was the problem of religious education, so dear to the heart of the missionaries. They had always put forward the view (*a*) that the company's policy of religious neutrality was not in the spiritual interests of the Indian people; (*b*) that, as all true education is inseparable from religion, every school and college conducted by the Company must impart instruction in religion (which, however, they interpreted narrowly as instruction in Christianity); and (*c*) that the missionaries should have full freedom, in spite of their being in receipt of State grants, to teach the Bible compulsorily to all students who may join their schools.

In so far as the general demand for religious education was concerned, the ranks of the missionaries were soon strengthened by other groups. The Brahmo Samajists, the Prarthana Samajists and the Arya Samajists, the new sects among the Hindus, also demanded religious education in schools on the lines of their

[1] *Report*, pp. 452-54.

own faith; the orthodox Hindus who, in the earlier period, had fought against the new education altogether now gave up that fight and began to demand that the new schools should combine instruction in the principles of Hindu religion with Western science and literature, in the case of all Hindu children; and the Muslims who were now coming under the modern system of education insisted that the Koran should necessarily be taught to Muslim children. In short, there was, by 1882, a general feeling among several sections of the people that the policy of secular education should be abandoned and that religious education should be provided to each child in the principles of his own faith. Such a proposal could not obviously be accepted by the Commission on administrative and financial grounds. The Commission, therefore, reiterated the necessity of keeping all Government schools secular. The missionaries, therefore, lost their demand that Christianity should be taught in all Government schools; even the modified demand that each child should be taught his own religion was rejected. The policy of secular education in Government schools was upheld once more, and in spite of all attacks, continues to hold the field even today.

As a corollary to this decision, the question of religious education in aided schools came up for discussion. Here, one line of action was to follow the American precedent and declare that no institution which imparted religious education should be aided by Government. But at this time, America had hardly come into the picture and our administrators were generally guided by English precedents. It was, therefore, decided (*a*) that private schools should be permitted to impart such instruction as they chose; (*b*) that Government should just ignore such religious education; and (*c*) that it should pay grants-in-aid on the basis of the secular education imparted in them. This view had already been propounded by the Despatch of 1854 and the Commission, in deference chiefly to missionary opinion, reiterated it with almost equal firmness.

This decision satisfied the missionaries; but Indian public opinion in general was opposed to this concession to mission enterprise. It was pointed out that, in England, where the freedom to impart religious education of its choice was given to an aided school, the parents also were given a defence in the *conscience-clause* which enabled them to withdraw their children,

if they so desired, from the religious education to which they objected. The view that such a conscience-clause should be adopted in India was, therefore, strongly put forward before the Indian Education Commission. The plea, however, was not accepted except in one special case, *viz.*, where the aided school was the only one of its type in the locality. In such a case, the commission recommended that "the system of grants-in-aid be based as hitherto, in accordance with the Despatch of 1854, on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the institution assisted: provided that when the only institution of any particular grade existing in any town or village is an institution in which religious instruction forms a part of the ordinary course, it shall be open to parents to withdraw their children from attendance at such instruction without forfeiting any of the benefits of the institution."[1]

The enquiries held by the Indian Education Commission marked the last great occasion when the Government policy in religious education was discussed in India. Ever since 1813 when the Company accepted responsibility for the education of the Indian people, the subject of religious education was almost continuously debated upon and no final decision could be reached. The credit of having laid down a definite and final policy on the subject, therefore, belongs to the Indian Education Commission. Its rulings were perhaps none too happy. They did not satisfy *any* section of public opinion in *full*; but they had to be accepted as the only practicable solutions of the problem under Indian conditions.

10. **Missionary Educational Enterprise (1882-1902).** Taken together, the decisions of the Indian Education Commission convinced the missions that the aggressive policy of Duff needed a revision. They made the missionaries think, take stock of the whole position, and outline a new educational policy to guide their educational enterprise in future. This was done during the next twenty years and by 1902, the missionaries adopted the policy of restricting their educational activities to the maintenance of a few educational institutions in as high a state of efficiency as possible and abandoned their earlier dreams of commanding the whole educational field in India.

[1] *Report*, pp. 448-49.

The reasons for this decision were several. In the first place, the prominent position which missionary enterprise occupied in Indian education at the time of the Despatch of 1854 was whittled down considerably by the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission. Secondly, the missionaries had a further disappointment when they found that the spread of English education did not lead to considerable proselytization as expected by them. Thirdly, a new party arose among the missionaries themselves which held that it was no part of missionary enterprise to maintain schools for non-Christian children. This is how a missionary describes the view of this party:—

Now whether it is better, from a missionary point of view, to limit mission school education to the needs of the native Christian community, or to use the large Government grants as a lever by which the schools may be so developed as to give missionaries a commanding influence over the scholars who pass through them? Mark well! The point at issue is not whether missions should keep up sufficient schools to meet the needs of the native Christian community. That is a matter on which there has never been any serious difference of opinion. The question is, whether missions should establish elementary and secondary schools for the non-Christian youth of India in order through them to disseminate Christian knowledge amongst the heathen masses of the people. No branch of mission work has caused such heated debate as this of schools for heathen children. At the decennial Missionary Conferences at Allahabad in 1872, at Calcutta in 1882, at Bombay in 1892, and at the South India Conference at Bangalore in 1879, it invariably led to animated and often to elaborate discussion. It was of special moment that the great Missionary Secretary of the American Board, Rufus Anderson, and his entire Society, and along with them the English Baptist Missionary Society, should cast their entire weight into the balance against the maintenance of an extensive system of schools for heathen children. What arguments did these opponents advance? "School teaching is not missionary work." It is no duty of the home churches at their own cost to spread higher education among any people whatsoever, save in so far as their immediate *raison d'etre*, the propagation of the gospel, is advanced thereby." Missions have neither a call nor a mandate to teach English literature, history, mathematics, or natural science. The preaching of the gospel to the heathen and the exercise of pastoral care over the native churches is so clearly the head and front of all missionary labour that everything must be considered as pure 'alien stuff' which does not directly further this end. Any union between the State and Missions can only be to the detriment of the latter; it is used by the stronger partner, the State, simply as an auxiliary to the attainment of its own ends, some of which are alien to the objects of missions, and some of which are indeed antagonistic to those objects. The inspection of mission schools by heathen inspectors, the introduction of text-books utterly incompatible with the standpoint of missions, the regulations with regard to the teaching staff, school buildings, the school inventory, school hours, etc., place missions at the mercy or the caprice of their opponents. Besides, the whole thing is like a screw with an endless worm; at one time an order will be issued making all religious instruction optional, and only to be given out of ordinary school hours (Educational Despatch, 1885, in the North-Western Provinces, withdrawn after pressure from missionary circles); at another, it will be decreed that all the subjects that

are under Government inspection must be taught during the first five hours of every day, whilst religious teaching must, if at all, be taken during a sixth hour, when all the strength and power of attention on the part of the chidren is exhausted (Travancore, 1902). It is a delusion and a snare, in an educational system the whole efforts which are directed towards examination drill and towards the acquirement by the scholars of a parrot-like facility in chattering English, for missionaries to hope to accomplish anything of value in imparting Christian knowledge—a subject that is of no use in the examination. The scholars tolerate the period set apart for Christian religious teaching, often unwillingly making the best of it as a kind of bad bargain because they have a better chance of passing the State examinations in a mission school, or because the fees of the mission school are lower than those of the competing Government establishment. But it is unworthy of missions to use good teaching in secular subjects for an examination as a decoy by which to entice, for purposes of religious instruction, that portion of the youth of the country which hungers after knowledge. And the results of mission schools, as regards the number of baptisms, bear no sort of comparison with the means and strength employed; many mission schools are unable to record one case of baptism in an entire decade. And further, what could this elite of highly trained missionaries, who alone can be employed in educational mission work, in that case accomplish along the lines of direct missionary work? Precisely the most gifted amongst them are confined to close and stuffy school-rooms, and both intellectually and spiritually are becoming atrophied under the mechanical school grind, whilst away outside, far across the thickly populated tracts of land, millions are dying without having once heard the good tidings of great joy![1]

Of course, a number of strong arguments were also urged on the other side. It was admitted that the number of conversions through English schools and colleges was extremely small. But it was asserted that this comparatively small number of converts was "the very crown and rejoicing of Indian missions, the most brilliant representatives and pillars of the Indian church, the leading spirits in the ever-increasing body of Indian Christians ...the officers of the main army which is composed of members belonging to the lower orders of the society."[2] It was also urged that missionaries held an important place in the world of Indian education and that they ought not to lose it; that the teachings of Christ were spreading largely among the educated Indians although only a few of them became the direct adherents of the Christian religion; that it was a duty of the missionaries to satisfy the growing Indian demand for knowledge; and that the mission schools were the only means by which the gospel could be preached to the upper and influential classes of society.

The sum total of all these discussions was the conclusion that missionaries should rest content with the maintenance of a few

[1] Richter: *op. cit.*, pp. 313-15.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

efficient schools and colleges and should refrain, as far as possible, from any large scale expansion of their educational activities. This policy was adopted soon after 1882, and the missionaries have since directed their efforts to such fields as have not yet attracted Indian workers, *viz.*, the improvement of Aboriginals, Hill Tribes and other backward communities.

11. **Institutions Directly Conducted by the Education Department (1854-82).** Similar in effect to this decision of the missionaries *not* to expand their educational activities on any large scale was the policy of Government to depend mainly on private enterprise to provide for the educational needs of the country—a policy that necessarily implied a refusal to multiply the educational institutions which were under the direct control of the Education Departments. This policy, as pointed out in Chapter IV, was clearly enunciated in the Despatch of 1854, which, even at this early date, looked forward "to the time when any general system of education entirely provided by Government may be discontinued, with the gradual advance of the system of grant-in-aid, and when many of the existing Government institutions, especially those of a higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of, and aided by, the State" (para. 64). The principal objective of this policy which may be briefly described as the *Doctrine of State-withdrawal* was, as already stated, to patronize missionary enterprise—an idea whose wisdom came to be largely challenged, especially after the events of 1857. Between 1858 and 1882, therefore, the officials of the Department did not observe these directions of the Despatch of 1854 and brought about a rapid multiplication of Government educational institutions.[1] This was due to (*a*) the fear of possible political repercussions of Government encouragement to missionary enterprise, (*b*) the absence of private Indian enterprise on a sufficiently large scale, and (*c*) the desire of officials of the Department, on grounds of efficiency, to conduct schools and colleges under their direct supervision.

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maintaining its own institutions, it could never adopt an impartial attitude of full encouragement to private institutions. They, therefore, started a crusade, both in India and England, demanding, on the basis of statements made in the Despatch of 1854, that the Government colleges and schools should either be closed or transferred to private enterprise. The Indian Education Commission, therefore, was called upon to decide whether (*a*) the Doctrine of State-withdrawal was educationally sound and (*b*) if so, the manner in which it could be properly implemented.

The first of these issues proved to be extremely controversial and the evidence led before the Commission included a vigorous championship of the case *for* and *against* State-withdrawal. But on a very careful consideration of the problem, the Commission recommended that the Doctrine of State-withdrawal enunciated by the Despatch of 1854 was intrinsically sound and specially suited to the situation in India. Several weighty reasons prompted this decision. In the first place, Government had frankly told the Commission that the funds at its disposal were so limited that if satisfactory progress was to be made at all, "every available private agency must be called into action to relieve and assist the public funds in connection with every branch of public Instruction". A system of grant-in-aid became, therefore, an absolute necessity, "if the educational means of the country were to be made co-extensive with educational wants". Secondly, the paucity of funds made it necessary to make every pie go the longest way and it was urged that, if Government were to transfer its institutions (which were necessarily costlier) to private bodies, it would effect a considerable saving which might be advantageously used for aiding more educational institutions. For these and other reasons, the Commission recommended that *Government should not only curtail the expansion of its institutions, but should also withdraw from direct enterprise as soon as a suitable agency, public or private, became available to carry on the work.* This fundamental recommendation raised two further issues: In whose favour should the withdrawal take place and what should be the conditions for such a withdrawal? As stated already, the Commission did not favour State-withdrawal in favour of missionaries. But it recommended (*a*) a *complete* withdrawal of the State in the sphere of primary education in favour of local boards and municipalities and (*b*) a *gradual* withdrawal in the

sphere of secondary and collegiate education in favour of private Indian enterprise subject to the general safeguard that such a step does not endanger the future of the institution or lower the quality of instruction given therein or reduce the educational opportunities already provided in the area concerned. The first of these recommendations was accepted by Government *in toto* and almost all primary schools were transferred to the control of local bodies like municipalities and local boards. But it must be remembered that this decision does not really amount to a withdrawal in favour of a private agency as visualised by the Despatch of 1854. The local bodies are a part of Government and the transfer of primary schools to their control was really equivalent to an administrative decentralization and *not* to a transfer from a Government to a non-Government agency. The second recommendation, however, was not accepted and, even after 1882, the Department did not withdraw from direct educational enterprise in secondary and collegiate education. This was due partly to the desire of the Department to conduct its own institutions and partly to the unnecessary fear that the efficiency of these institutions would suffer if they were transferred to private Indian enterprise. Between 1854 and 1902, therefore, it may be said that the Doctrine of State-withdrawal from direct educational enterprise remained, on paper, as the official policy of Government but was almost a dead letter in practice. The effects of this doctrine on Indian education in general will be discussed later in the closing paragraph of this chapter. Here it would be enough to state that it succeeded in checking effectively a rapid multiplication of educational institutions directly conducted by the Department. This result was, in a way, inevitable on account of the general financial stringency that prevailed in this period. All that the Doctrine of State-withdrawal did, therefore, was to cloak the inability of Government to expand its educational activities as a noble administrative policy wherein direct State enterprise was deliberately controlled in order that private enterprise might have "room to expand."

12. **Private Indian Enterprise (1854-1902).** It will have been seen from the foregoing discussion that, between 1854 and 1902, both the missionaries and Government decided *not* to attempt a large scale expansion of their educational institutions.

This restriction of missionary and governmental enterprise in education opened the whole field of educational activity to private Indian enterprise and made them almost solely responsible for meeting the rapidly growing educational demands of the people. It is to the credit of Government that Indian enterprise was given full freedom to develop and liberal assistance during the period under review. It is also to the credit of educated Indians that they rose to the occasion, undertook the work of educating their brethren at considerable sacrifice and not only met all the growing educational demands of the people but also helped to spread the love of education still further by their life and teaching.

In 1854, the modern educational institutions conducted by Indians were so few that *private enterprise* really meant *missionary enterprise.* But as early as 1882, the position was considerably changed and Indians occupied a fairly important position as the following statistics for 1881-82 will show:—

Institutions	Conducted by Indian Managers	Conducted by other than Indian Managers
Arts Colleges	5	18
Secondary Schools	1,341	757
Primary Schools	54,662	1,842
Professional Colleges and Schools	10	18
Total ..	56,018	2,635

N.B.—Figures for British India and some Indian States (exclusive of Burma).

It will be seen that, even in 1882, it was only in the field of higher education that the missionaries had a lead over Indian enterprise. During the next two decades, however, Indian private enterprise increased so rapidly that in 1901-02, the colleges under Indian management numbered 42 as against 37 under missionary management, and the large bulk of the private secondary schools came to be controlled by Indians themselves.

The motives that led to this expansion of Indian private enterprise were mainly patriotic. By about 1880, there was a wave of social, religious, and political reforms in India—a

veritable beginning of a renaissance in Indian national life. The leaders of this movement were inspired by a faith in the ideal of building up a great nation in India and their ultimate objects were social and political. But they realised that a new nation after their heart's desire could not be built up unless the education of the country's youth came to be controlled and managed by Indians themselves. Hence it was that a movement for establishing schools and colleges started about this time in all provinces—a movement which finds a brilliant expression in such institutions as the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh and the Deccan Education Society of Poona.

At first, the efforts of Indians were restricted to the collection of funds and even the colleges under Indian management generally had European principals. It was necessary to do so because, in those days, Indians were not considered fit to become principals of colleges or even headmasters of high schools. This prejudice, however unfair it may appear today, had some justification in those early years; firstly, Indians versed in *European Knowledge and Science*—which was *the* object of the educational system—were not available. Secondly, the idea that English should be taught, or can only be taught properly, by one whose mother-tongue is English was firmly rooted at this time; and, as the teaching of English was the most important part of education, the employment of Europeans, even in schools and colleges under Indian management, became inevitable on grounds of efficiency.

It is hardly necessary to say that Indian private enterprise could not have thrived much so long as it was compelled to depend upon European headmasters and principals who were not inspired by the same ideals as those of the Indians. Secondly, a rapid extension of education and the reduction of its cost to a figure which was within the means of the average Indian were also impossible so long as costly Europeans continued to be entertained. What the situation demanded was a sacrifice on the part of educated Indians of undoubted ability. To such men, a lucrative post under Government was available for the mere asking. But the interests of the nation's education required them "to scorn delights and live laborious days", to turn their back on Government service and voluntarily decide to live on a pittance in private institutions. It was a great demand and it

is a golden event in the history of Indian education that educated Indians should have risen to the occasion and made the sacrifices demanded. When persons like R. P. Paranjpe—a senior wrangler of the Cambridge University—began to work as principals of private colleges, the stamp of inferiority that was attached to Indian private enterprise vanished at once, the spread of education became rapid, and its cost was considerably reduced.

Too much tribute cannot be paid to the workers in the cause of Indian education in the years between 1882 and 1902. It was these nameless sons of Mother India that satisfied as well as created the public demand for more education that grew up at this time and thereby laid the foundation of the modern national life in India.

13. **Grant-in-aid.** The policy of grant-in-aid to private enterprise is an inevitable corollary of the Doctrine of State-withdrawal and it is, therefore, hardly a matter for surprise if a great emphasis on grant-in-aid was placed in all the important documents of this period. The Despatch of 1854, as shown already, was the first document to recommend the adoption of a regular scheme of grant-in-aid. This direction was soon carried out by the Education Departments which framed grant-in-aid codes and began to inspect and financially assist the private schools that came into existence to meet the evergrowing desire for education. It is unnecessary here to go into the details of the provincial systems of grant-in-aid as they were evolved between 1854 and 1882. But the following summary of the criticism levelled against these systems by those who had an experience of their operation will show their principal achievements and failures:—

(*a*) Although private enterprise had increased very considerably between 1854 and 1882 and although a part of the credit for this increase was undoubtedly due to the policy of grant-in-aid adopted in 1854, it would nevertheless be true to say that even better results would have been obtained if the Departmental policies were free from certain defects.

(*b*) Private enterprise did not always get the best scope or adequate financial assistance.

(*c*) The amount of grant-in-aid was generally low or inadequate. It was also alleged, by several witnesses, that greater partiality was shown towards the mission schools in distributing the grants; that grants were often not paid in time;

that they were often suddenly curtailed or withdrawn; and that the failure to provide adequate funds in the budget resulted in a reduction of grants even for such reasons as increase in the number of private schools or in the expenditure of Government institutions.

(*d*) It was argued that the rules of grant-in-aid were often cumbrous and elaborate; that they were not always given wide publicity; and that managers of private institutions were not often consulted while revising or amending them.

(*e*) Public examinations were often so used as to impose uniform curricula and text-books on all schools and thereby render the independent development of private schools impossible.

(*f*) Private schools were not sympathetically treated and were not accepted as equals of Government schools in matters of status and privileges; charges of hostility, competition or indifference were often levelled against Departmental officers in their dealings with the aided schools. It was also argued that the representatives of non-Departmental educational bodies were not generally consulted in drawing up educational policies; that they were often excluded from examinerships; that scholarships were often confined to pupils of Government schools only; and that the axe of retrenchment fell first on aided schools.

The Commission carefully considered all these charges and came to the conclusion that a zealous and all-out effort to encourage private enterprise had not yet been made. It, therefore, made the following recommendations from this point of view:—

(*a*) Institutions under private managers cannot be successful unless they are frankly accepted as an essential part of the general scheme of education. With a view to securing the co-operation of Government and non-Government institutions, the managers of the latter be consulted on matters of general educational interest, and that their students be admitted on equal terms to competition for certificates, scholarships and other public distinctions.[1]

(*b*) In the conduct of all departmental examinations, managers or teachers of non-Government schools should be associated as far as possible with the officers of the Department.

(*c*) All scholarships and rewards that Government confers should be given to pupils from all schools and not restricted to those in Government institutions only.

(*d*) The proximity of a Government school should not be regarded as of itself a sufficient reason for refusing aid to a non-Government school.

[1]*Report*, pp. 436-37.

(*e*) With the object of rendering assistance to schools in the form best suited to the circumstances of each province and thus to call forth the largest amount of local co-operation, the grant-in-aid rules should be revised by the Local Governments in consultation with the managers of schools. The revised rules should define without ambiguity the amount and duration of the aid to which an institution may be entitled and the conditions of grants for buildings, apparatus, and furniture.

(*f*) Every application for a grant-in-aid should receive an official reply and in case of refusal the reasons for such refusal should always be given.

(*g*) It should be a general principle that the grant-in-aid should depend (*i*) on *locality*, *i.e.*, larger proportionate grants be given to schools in backward districts; and (*ii*) on *the class of institutions*, *i.e.*, greater proportionate aid be given to those in which a large amount of self-support cannot be expected, *e.g.*, girls' schools and schools for lower castes and backward communities.

(*h*) Grants be paid without delay when they become due according to the rules.

(*i*) The revised rules for grant-in-aid and any subsequent alterations made in them should be not merely published in the official gazettes, but translated into the Indian languages, and communicated to the press, to the managers of aided and private institutions and to all who are likely to help in any way in the spread of education.

(*j*) A periodically increasing provision should be made in the educational budget of each province for the expansion of aided institutions.

(*k*) Variety in the course of instruction in aided schools should be encouraged by grants for special subjects.

(*l*) Greater latitude should be given to the managers of aided schools in fixing the course of instruction and the medium through which it is conveyed.

(*m*) Care should be taken lest public examinations become the means of practically imposing the same text-books or curriculum on all schools.

(*n*) It should be distinctly laid down that Indians having the necessary qualifications should be employed as Inspectors of Schools more commonly than in the past.

These comprehensive recommendations of the Commission were based on undisputed principles of a successful system of grant-in-aid such as the recognition of aided institutions as equal to Government institutions in matters of status and privileges, the provision of liberal financial assistance, abstinence from interference with internal management, and appointment of officials who can command the confidence of the managers. They were accepted by Government and the development of private enterprise, particularly in the field of collegiate and secondary education, was therefore, very rapid between 1882 and 1902. Owing to the contraction of missionary enterprise, however, it was the newly rising Indian private enterprise that got the full benefit of this liberal policy and was thereby greatly helped to come into its own.

14. **The Role of the State in Education (1854-1902).** We are now in a position to discuss the role of the State in Indian education between 1854 and 1902. It will have been seen from the foregoing discussion that, during this period,

(*a*) Government did not and could not identify itself with the *people*. It always held itself aloof and spoke of the Indian people making attempts to educate themselves, either through private effort or through the local bodies with whose administration they were more closely associated;

(*b*) Government organised and maintained an Education Department primarily to supervise private enterprise and incidentally to maintain some institutions of its own;

(*c*) Government maintained a few educational institutions under its direct control. Some of these were the historical legacies of the past, while others were meant to supplement private effort and provided costly courses, particularly in vocational education, which could not be provided by private enterprise.

The principal activity of Government during this period, therefore, was to assist private enterprise financially and to supervise it. The first of these objectives was not always satisfactorily carried out and the amount of aid given to private schools was not generally adequate. In so far as the second objective is concerned, the Department followed a policy of *laissez-faire*. A school that did not ask for aid was not controlled at all. Even in the case of aided schools the control of the Department was far from rigorous and was mostly restricted to a general inspection, examination of pupils and an enquiry as to whether the grant-in-aid from Government was properly spent. This lenient attitude led, of course, to the existence of many an inefficient institution; at the same time, it did considerable good by helping private Indian enterprise to develop quickly in these early years.

The State can play an infinite number of roles in education from complete indifference (as in England before 1833) to full responsibility (as in England today). In India, Government was evidently progressing, during this period, from the role of complete indifference which prevailed prior to 1813 to that of full assumption of responsibility. But the progress was slow and

halting because Government refused, as a matter of policy, to provide *all* the educational institutions needed by the people. It only undertook to guide and assist, to such extent as was possible, the educational institutions which the people themselves would come forward to provide and even looked forward to a time when the private effort of the people themselves would provide *all* the educational institutions required by the country and when Government would not be required to maintain any institution of its own. This attitude was due mainly to the failure of Government to identify itself with the people and it is to this attitude that we can ultimately trace the main achievements and failures of this period. Private enterprise is a suitable agency for the spread of secondary and collegiate education of a literary type because such education is not costly to impart and can be made to pay its way through fees and grants-in-aid. Very naturally, therefore, it was this type of education that flourished most in India between 1854 and 1902. On the other hand, the primary education of the masses and vocational and technical education are such costly affairs that no tangible progress is possible unless Government takes a bold stand and accepts all the financial and administrative liabilities involved in the proposal. The Government of India was not prepared to do so and hence the cause of mass and vocational education languished considerably.

In England, the State accepted responsibility for education in 1833. But as the people and the Government were one, the progress of education was very rapid. In 1870 compulsory education was introduced and by 1902, compulsory education between 7 and 13 years of age was being effectively enforced in all parts of the country. In India, the Company accepted the responsibility for educating the people in 1813—twenty years prior to the similar event in England. But owing to the lack of identification between the Government and the people, the principle of compulsory primary education was not accepted at all and Government talked, not of an aggressive and bold educational policy to educate the masses, but of emphasising the growth of private enterprise, and looked forward to a day when it could eliminate even the few institutions that it directly conducted. It is mainly because of this policy that India remained so far behind England in 1902.

Chapter Six

THE VICTORIAN ERA—(*Continued*)
(1854-1902)

In this chapter, we shall review the remaining main events of the period between 1854 and 1902.

2. **Establishment of Universities.** Soon after the receipt of the Despatch of the Court of Directors dated 19th July, 1854, the Government of India took up the work of organising universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The preliminary spade work was considerably heavy and naturally took some time; but as early as 1857, the Government of India passed Acts of Incorporation of all the three Universities. Except for a few changes of a local nature, the three Acts are identical and it is enough to study one of them in order to understand the constitution of the Universities established thereby.

The *preamble* of the Bombay University Act, for example, defined the object of the University to be the "ascertaining, by means of examination, the persons who have acquired proficiency" in different branches of learning and "rewarding them by Academical Degrees, as evidence of their respective attainments." The Act then nominated the first Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Fellows, who together constituted the Body corporate of the University of Bombay. The number of Fellows excluding the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor was to be *not less* than twenty-six; Fellows were of two classes: *Ex-officio* Fellows who included the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, the Bishop of Bombay, Members of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay, the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, the Educational Inspector of the Presidency Division, and the Principals of all Government Colleges; the other Fellows were called *Ordinary* Fellows and were *appointed by Government for life*, vacancies in their ranks being only caused by death, resignation, departure from India without the intention of returning thereto, or by cancellation of appointment by Government. The *Senate* of the University consisted of the Chancellor (who was always the Governor of Bombay), the Vice-Chancellor (whose

appointment was made by the Governor-in-Council for a period of two years at a time) and the Fellows both *ex-officio* and ordinary. It was empowered by the Act to carry on all the day-to-day administration of the university. The contents of the Acts for the Universities of Calcutta and Madras were exactly similar, except for changes in the numbers and names of the first Fellows.

3. **Criticism of the University Acts of 1857.** There is little to comment on in these Acts; but it may be helpful for a proper understanding of the subject to call special attention to the following features of the scheme:

(*a*) There was no upper limit to the number of the Fellows. The inevitable consequence was that the Senates grew unwieldy, especially as the Fellows were to be appointed for life and not for a specific period.

(*b*) In the universities it is customary to have a small executive body called the Syndicate and to entrust it with the details of the day-to-day administration. But it is significant that the Act makes no mention of the Syndicate and gives all powers to the Senate only. In practice, however, Syndicates came to be established in virtue of the regulations framed by the Senates and they were also entrusted with certain powers. The point to be noted is that the Syndicate received no statutory recognition in the Acts of Incorporation.

(*c*) The preamble limited the functions of the universities to the holding of examinations and the granting of degrees only. This was no doubt in keeping with the constitution of the London University as it was in 1857 but it did not carry out, in full, the intentions of the Despatch of 1854 with regard to the functions of the proposed Universities. It is true that, according to the Despatch, Indian universities were "not so much to be in themselves places of instruction" as agencies "to test the value of the education obtained elsewhere",[1] but the Despatch had also pointed out that it would be "advisable to institute in connection with the Universities, professorships for the purpose of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning for the acquisition of which, at any rate in an advanced degree, facilities do not now exist in other institutions in India,"[2] such as Law, Civil

[1] *Wood's Education Despatch*, para. 36.
[2] *Ibid.*, paras. 30-32.

Engineering, the classical as well as modern languages of India, etc. One cannot help feeling here that the framers of the Indian Universities' Acts in 1857 took a very narrow view of the Despatch of 1854.

(*d*) The type of the university organisation that was created by the Acts of 1857 is known technically as the *Affiliating University*. In this form of organisation, the affiliated colleges are the real centres of learning and the university itself is not a unit of teaching but a mere unit of administration whose sole duty is to hold examinations and confer degrees. This form of a university had undoubtedly certain *immediate* advantages in the conditions of India as they were in 1857, but it was harmful to national interests in the long run. It is a matter for regret that the ultimate disadvantages of the system were ignored in view of its immediate advantages and that it was decided to follow the line of least resistance in preference to a programme of intelligent planning in national interest. The decision looks almost tragic if one remembers that the London University itself was remodelled in 1858 and gave up the affiliating type as unsatisfactory! Perhaps, it would have contributed more to the welfare of the nation had the University Acts been passed in 1859 instead of in 1857.

4. **Growth of Universities between 1857 and 1902.** Let us now turn to the growth of universities between 1857 and 1902. The Acts of Incorporation of the universities recited by name the degrees which the university might confer. It was afterwards found desirable to add others to the list and hence in 1860 the Indian Universities (Degrees) Act was passed empowering the universities to confer such diplomas or degrees or licences as had been or might be approved by the bye-laws or regulations. In 1884, the Indian Universities (Honorary Degrees) Act was passed which empowered the three universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras to confer the Honorary Degree of LL.D.

In 1882, the Punjab University was established by a special Act of Incorporation. The general framework of this Act was similar to the Acts of 1857; but the Punjab University differed from the older universities in several important matters. These have been mentioned in the following words in the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1897-1902:—

(1) It has a Faculty of Oriental Learning, and confers the degrees of Bachelor, Master, and Doctor of Oriental Learning on candidates who have gone

through a course of training analogous to that prescribed for the examinations for the degrees in Arts, but through the medium not of English but of Urdu.

(2) It confers oriental literary titles on successful candidates in examinations which it holds in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.

(3) It conducts proficiency and high proficiency examinations in vernacular languages.

(4) It grants native titles to students of Muhammadan and Hindu law and medicine.

(5) It conducts various school examinations.

(6) It maintains an Oriental College and a Law College, and it may maintain 'such other schools and colleges as the Senate may from time to time direct.'

(7) The Senate advises on educational matters generally.[1]

In 1887, another special Act of Incorporation established the fifth Indian University at Allahabad. As R. Nathan observes :—

> An Act was passed in the Council of the Governor-General in the year 1887 incorporating the University of Allahabad. The Local Government carefully considered the exact form the University should take, and in especial whether in addition to prescribing courses and conducting examinations it should maintain a staff of professors and even of private teachers, after the pattern of the Universities of Germany. While recognising the great value of a university of this type the Lieutenant-Governor considered that, at all events at first, the University should confine its operations to the direction of the methods and aims of instruction; adapting them to the needs, circumstances, provisions and predilections of the country, which is gradually recovering its place in the intellectual progress of India. The Act imposes no limitations on the scope and activity of the University, but hitherto Allahabad has conformed to the practice of the three original Universities and confined itself to conferring degrees on candidates who pass its examinations after following a prescribed course of study in an institution affiliated to it.[2]

5. **Collegiate Education (1854-1902).** It will be seen from the foregoing account that, during the period under review, all the five universities in India were merely affiliating and examining bodies. They did no direct teaching work but contented themselves by testing the students educated in affiliated colleges. No adequate idea of university education between 1854 and 1902, can, therefore, be had from the history of the universities alone; it will have to be supplemented by an account of the development of collegiate education in the same period.

6. **Collegiate Education Prior to 1857.** Although the universities were established as late as in 1857, educational institutions which called themselves *colleges* were in existence for

[1] Vol. I, para. 153.
[2] *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1897-1902, Vol. I, para. 154.

about seventy years previously. The earliest colleges of this period such as the Calcutta Madrassa or the Banaras Sanskrit College were established by Government and were generally modelled on the ancient educational institutions of the Muslims and Hindus. Colleges imparting instruction in Western knowledge were first established by missionaries. Government soon followed their example and began to establish colleges of modern type, especially after the controversy between the Anglicists and the Classicists had come to an end. The only college organised by a Committee with whose management Indians were associated was, as we have already seen, the Hindu Vidyalaya of Calcutta. This was, however, merged later in the Presidency College established in 1854 by Lord Dalhousie, and hence in 1857, there was not a single college managed by Indians themselves. It must be pointed out, however, that Indians had given munificent donations for establishment of colleges—notably in connection with the Elphinstone Institution, Bombay, and the colleges at Agra and Delhi.

It must be remembered that these early institutions for imparting higher education were quite different from the colleges of today. Many of the colleges grew out of schools teaching English and contained classes "in which the alphabet was taught under the same roof with classes reading Shakespeare, the Calculus, Smith's Wealth of Nations, and the Ramayana".[1] The word *college* seems then to have been used rather loosely to denote "an institution where a high type of instruction is given."

7. **Growth of Collegiate Education between 1857 and 1882.** Colleges in the modern sense of the word may be said to have started to function after 1857 when the universities came to be established. Henceforward, they could only admit such students as had passed the entrance examination held by the universities to which they were affiliated and impart instruction according to such courses only as had been prescribed by the universities. In short, colleges now became an integral part of the universities themselves and provided instruction in higher branches of learning on their behalf.

The development of colleges was fairly rapid during the twenty-five years between the establishment of the universities

[1] *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, p. 18.

and the appointment of the Indian Education Commission. This was partly due to the rapid development of secondary education and partly to the liberal encouragement given by Government. At the first matriculation examinations of the universities, only 219 candidates were declared to have passed.[1] But in 1881-82, as many as 7,429 pupils appeared for the matriculation examination from British India only and 2,778 of these were declared to have passed. In those days a very large number of the candidates who passed the matriculation sought admission to universities, mainly owing to the material advantages that were then attainable by holders of university degrees. Consequently, the number of colleges as well as their attendance increased considerably between 1857 and 1882. The following table compares the colleges in 1857 with those in 1882:—

Provinces	No. of Colleges in 1857	No. of Colleges in 1882
Bengal	15	27
Bombay	3	6
North-Western Province	5	11
Madras	4	25
Punjab	..	2
Central Provinces	..	1
Total ..	27	72

An important feature of this period that deserves notice is the entry of Indian private enterprise into the field of the direct management of collegiate institutions. Even in 1881-82, Indians conducted five aided colleges—two in the North-Western Province, and three in Madras. The two colleges in the North-Western Province were the Canning College, Lucknow, and the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh. They later grew into universities. The three colleges in Madras were the Pachaiyappa's College and the Hindu Colleges at Vizianagram and Tinnevelly. The Pachaiyappa's College arose out of a school established in 1842 from the funds derived from a bequest for pious uses made by Pachaiyappa, a wealthy Hindu gentleman; the Vizianagram College was established as a school in 1857 by His Highness the Maharaja of Vizianagram; and the Tinnevelly College was

[1] Calcutta University 162 (in 1857); Bombay University 21 (in 1859); and Madras University 36 (in 1857).

established in 1861. It should be remembered, however, that the principals of these colleges were generally Europeans and that Indians were then considered unfit to become the principals of first-class colleges.

8. **Recommendations of the Indian Education Commission.** The report of the Indian Education Commission did little to improve university education. The Government Resolution appointing the Commission observed that it would "not be necessary for the Commission to enquire into the general working of the Indian universities, which are controlled by corporations comprising representatives of all classes interested in collegiate education" and that a fair estimate of the results of their operation could always be formed independently of any special inquiry. The Commission was also precluded from studying professional colleges because that "would expand unduly" the task before it. The Commission could not, therefore, study the problem of collegiate education in a comprehensive manner and hence its recommendations on this subject are not so important as those on secondary or primary education.

9. **Growth of Colleges between 1882 and 1902.** Although the recommendations of the Commission regarding collegiate education itself were not of great importance, its recommendations on other matters reacted indirectly on the development of collegiate education in two ways:—

(*a*) Firstly, the recommendations led to a great expansion of secondary education. But as there was no provision of varied courses at the upper secondary stage, most of the pupils in secondary schools prepared themselves for the matriculation examination. Moreover, a very large percentage of those who passed the matriculation joined the colleges partly owing to the fact that the more lucrative posts under Government were open only to holders of university degrees, and partly from a lack of alternative openings. Consequently, the number of students seeking admission to colleges increased substantially year after year.

(*b*) Secondly, the recommendations of the Commission created a background in which Indian private enterprise could thrive. As we have seen, missionary institutions dominated the private effort in collegiate education in 1882. But the situation

began to alter after the report of the Commission. Missionary institutions made only a slight progress; and new institutions managed by Indians came into the field in large numbers. Even in 1901-02, Arts colleges in British India conducted by Indians numbered 42 as against 37 conducted by Missions.

It is hardly a matter for surprise, therefore, if this period witnessed a very rapid increase in the number of colleges of general education. In 1901-02, the total number of colleges and their students was as follows:—

	No. of Institutions	No. of Students
Arts Colleges:		
English	140	17,048
Oriental	5	503
Professional Colleges:		
Law	30	2,767
Medicine	4	1,466
Engineering	4	865
Teaching	5	190
Agriculture	3	70
Total ..	191	23,009

It will be seen from the above statistics that the largest expansion had taken place in Arts colleges. These were mostly of the type of the Hindu Vidyalaya of Hare, *i.e.*, colleges which mainly taught a literary course and imparted a more or less sound knowledge in subjects like English literature or history, but which provided very few facilities for the study of scientific subjects. The professional colleges, it will be seen, were a small minority. The most popular professional course appears to be that of *Law* which had as many as 2,767 students. Next in order come the *Medical* colleges with 1,466 students followed by *Engineering* colleges with 865 students. These three professions account practically for ninety per cent of students who were receiving professional education. On the whole, therefore, it will be evident that the collegiate education of 1901-02 was predominantly literary education and that, even among the professions, the black-coated professions of the lawyer and the doctor were the most popular ones. India was, at this time, an economically backward country. She needed an extensive development of her industries and, to that end, a large scale expansion of industrial

and technical education. But the above statistics show that the higher education in India had developed, between 1854 and 1902, *not* according to the requirements of the nation, but according to the needs of Government and the tastes of the upper classes.

10. **Defects of Collegiate Education (1854-1902).** The system of collegiate education in India developed some major defects between 1854 and 1902, and by the end of the century these had already begun to cause great concern to Government and the leaders of public opinion. Regarding some of these defects, there was hardly any controversy. For example, reference has been made above to the lop-sided development of liberal education and to the neglect of professional education in general and of industrial and technical education in particular. To these may be added the uneven spread of higher education among different communities of the Hindu society or among the followers of different religions. The complete absence of women students from the Muslim community and the extremely small number of Hindu girls studying in colleges was another serious defect. These were defects regarding which all sides were agreed and no controversy existed, either about the nature of the evil or the means to remove it.

But there were some other defects in respect of which opinion was keenly divided. Conflicts particularly arose between the official and the non-official points of view and became wider and deeper as a nationalist public opinion began to be formed in India, especially after the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Among these controversies, special mention must be made of (*a*) the violent and protracted disputes regarding the study of the modern Indian languages at the university stage, (*b*) the experiments to impart higher professional education through the modern Indian languages, and (*c*) the reactions to the rapid expansion of collegiate education, especially under private Indian management, that had taken place since 1854 and particularly after 1882.

(*a*) *Neglect of the Modern Indian Languages at the University Stage:* A serious defect of university education of this period which led to a heated controversy was the neglect of modern Indian languages. It will be recalled that the Despatch of 1854 suggested that, "it would greatly encourage the cultivation of the vernacular language of India, that professorship should

be founded for those languages" in the universities which were then proposed to be established. The natural expectation, therefore, was that the universities would establish professorships of modern Indian languages and bring about their development in such a way that they could be adopted as media of instruction at all stages at a very early date. But unfortunately, these hopes were never realised. As stated already, the new universities were purely examining bodies and had no powers to appoint professors to do teaching work on their behalf. But it was still possible for them to institute examinations in modern Indian languages so that they might be taught in affiliated colleges at least. This step was taken in the beginning, but very soon the wind began to blow in the contrary direction and, except in Madras, the modern Indian languages came to be either totally excluded from the university courses or were allowed to occupy only a very subordinate place in them. This becomes clear from the Report of the Indian Universities Commission, 1902. From the analysis of the university courses given by the Commission on pp. 21-24 of its report, it is seen that:—

(*i*) At the *Entrance Examination*, one of the four compulsory subjects was *Second Language* which was defined as '(*a*) an Oriental or European classical language, or (*b*) an Indian or Continental European vernacular language.' In Allahabad and Punjab universities, the option of a *vernacular* language was not given and in the Punjab, a candidate could take a fifth optional subject which might be a *vernacular* language, elementary science, or a second classical language.

(*ii*) At the *Intermediate Examination,* a second language defined as "an Eastern or Western classical or modern European language" was compulsory. Madras University alone added the option of a modern Indian language.

(*iii*) At the *B. A. Examination*, again Madras was the only university where the modern Indian languages were included as an option to a classical language.

It would, therefore, be clear that, except in Madras, the study of modern Indian languages was neglected in the ordinary courses of the university. This was one of the important reasons which led to the slow development of Indian languages and to the creation of a cultural gulf between the intelligentsia educated in the universities and the masses.

(*b*) *Medium of Instruction in Junior Courses of University Level:* The problem of the medium of instruction at the collegiate stage did not arise at all during the period, when the officers of the department who also dominated the universities were of the opinion that the modern Indian languages did not even deserve to be studied as a subject during the university course. It goes without saying that there was no room for a proposal to adopt the modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the collegiate stage. One development of this period, however, deserves special notice. As already stated in Chapter III, there were medical schools in Bombay and Bengal where instruction was given through the modern Indian languages. These courses were of an inferior standard as compared to the degree courses conducted in English in the medical colleges and were meant to recruit officers to the subordinate ranks of the medical department. They, however, served the very useful purpose of having been the cause of producing good medical books in modern Indian languages. In the Grant Medical College in Bombay, for example, well-known doctors wrote books in Marathi on all medical subjects and the standard of instruction imparted in the subordinate Medical class where instruction was given through Marathi (and later on in Gujerati) was very high. In order to popularise the course, Shri Jagannath Shankershet and others instituted a number of scholarships and prizes for those who would go in for it. But owing to the general neglect of modern Indian languages which was so conspicuous a feature of this period, these attempts to give a medical education of a high standard through Marathi or Gujerati generally came to be condemned by the officers of the Department, and the Medical courses teaching through the mother-tongue were discontinued by about 1880. A great experiment of still greater potential significance was thus allowed to go to waste. If these early experiments had been carefully developed, the problem of medium of instruction at university stage would have been satisfactorily solved long ago in India.

(*c*) *Rapid Expansion of Collegiate Education, especially under Private Indian Enterprise* (1882-1902): Another defect in the development of collegiate education in this period was that the quality of education had been lowered in the course of the rapid expansion that had taken place between 1882 and 1902. But this development was not viewed from the same angle by different educationists. Some educationists considered that this expansion was

an evil because they believed that it was being secured at the cost of efficiency which, to them, was more important than mere numbers. This class of thinkers consisted mostly of Government officials and missionaries whose view can best be stated in the following words of the Calcutta University Commission:—

Indeed, their (*i.e.*, of the Indian Education Commission) main policy, that of reducing Government expenditure in this sphere, and encouraging local and private effort, was essentially irreconcilable with any large scheme for deepening and strengthening the intellectual vitality of the colleges. Extensive, not intensive, growth was the necessary result of the policy which they recommended; and most of the new colleges which were stimulated into existence by their policy during the following twenty years were necessarily weak, understaffed and incapable of affording the individual attention to the needs of the student, or of providing the varied courses of study, practical as well as literary, which were necessary for the healthy development of Bengal. The main feature of the twenty years following 1882 was to be the rapid creation of colleges which depended mainly or wholly upon fees, and throve as coaching institutions, rather than as places of learning.[1]

On the other hand, there was a group of educationists, consisting mostly of Indians, who thought that expansion was far more important than efficiency in the early stages of a nation's struggle for advance. This view may best be stated in the following words of G. K. Gokhale:—

Let not Government imagine that unless the education imparted by colleges is the highest which is at the present day possible, it is likely to prove useless and even pernicious; and secondly, let not the achievements of our graduates in the intellectual field be accepted as the sole, or even the most important, test to determine the utility of this education. I think, my Lord—and this is a matter of deep conviction with me—that, in the present circumstances of India, all Western education is valuable and useful. If it is the highest that under the circumstances is possible, so much the better. But even if it is not the highest, it must not on that account be rejected. I believe that the life of a people—whether in the political or social or industrial or intellectual field—is an organic whole, and no striking progress in any particular field is to be looked for, unless there be room for the free movement of the energies of the people in all fields. To my mind, the greatest work of Western education in the present state of India is not so much the encouragement of learning as the liberation of the Indian mind from the thraldom of old-world ideas, and the assimilation of all that is highest and best in the life and thought and character of the West. For this purpose not only the highest but *all* Western education is useful.[2]

By 1901-02, therefore, university and collegiate education in India presented a motley picture. On the one hand, there had been considerable expansion of collegiate education and it was creating a veritable renaissance in all walks of Indian life. On the other hand, the efficiency of the new colleges was not

[1] *Report*, Vol. I, pp. 59-60.

[2] *Speeches*, pp. 234-35.

very high and serious defects like utter neglect of modern Indian languages, lopsided expansion of liberal education, etc., had also been developed. As we shall see in Chapter VII, this unhappy position led to serious controversies between officials and non-officials when Lord Curzon started his drive to reform education, especially because the two sides could not agree, either regarding the nature of the evils or regarding the means to overcome them.

11. **Expansion of Secondary Education (1854-1902).** The history of secondary education between 1854 and 1902 is similar to that of collegiate education and shows the same motley picture of expansion on the one hand and the development of serious defects on the other.

(*a*) *Expansion of Secondary Education* (1854-82): Soon after the receipt of the Despatch of 1854, an era of rapid multiplication of secondary schools set in. The lead in this movement was naturally taken by the newly created Departments of Public Instruction whose task was greatly facilitated by the growing demand for English education and the larger grants placed at their disposal by the Government of India. Between 1854 and 1870, therefore, there was a large increase in the number of secondary schools directly conducted by Government. In the latter year, there was a slight change in Government policy. Successive reviews of the progress of education in India which were undertaken by Government in the period 1865-70, emphasised the need of extending elementary education among the masses, with the result that the force of Government effort for the spread of secondary education slackened to some extent. But in spite of this slackening, the number of Government secondary schools in 1882 was 1,363 (with 44,605 pupils)[1] as against 169 (with 18,335 pupils) in 1855.

There is, however, no need to regret this slackening of effort on the part of Government. The Despatch of 1854, it will be recalled, laid great stress on the system of grant-in-aid. Every Provincial Government, therefore, framed rules of grant-in-aid and made considerable budget provision for assisting private enterprise. Consequently, private secondary schools were opened and began to multiply at a very rapid rate and, within a few years, more than made up for the slackening in Government effort.

[1]*Indian Education Commission*, General Table 1a.

One feature of this period deserves special notice. In the early years following Wood's Despatch, private enterprise in secondary education was mostly confined to the Missionaries. But within a few years, Indians themselves entered the field in such large numbers that by 1882, the schools under Indian management constituted the bulk of private enterprise.[1] In Madras, Indian enterprise had just got the better of missionary activities which, in that Province, had spread far more widely than in any other. It was well under way in Bombay and was just beginning to develop in the other Provinces. But it is to be noted that, even at this early date, the English schools conducted by Indians were nearly twice as many as those conducted by all other non-government agencies put together.

(*b*) *The Recommendations of the Indian Education Commission Regarding Expansion of Secondary Education:* When the Indian Education Commission was appointed in 1882, it had to make recommendations on two important matters connected with the expansion of secondary education. *Firstly*, it had to suggest ways and means for securing a still more rapid expansion of secondary education. The rate of increase of secondary schools and pupils had, no doubt, been rapid in the period between 1854 and 1882. But the taste for English education had so materially increased during the same period that a faster expansion of secondary education was generally felt to be necessary. *Secondly*, the Commission had to recommend the best agency for expansion of secondary education. At this period, educational opinion was strongly divided on this subject. One view held that Government ought to multiply the number of secondary schools directly under its control because these schools were far more efficient than private ones. On the other hand, there was a large section of opinion which recommended on various grounds that private enterprise—particularly Indian private enterprise—should be encouraged as an effective means of expanding secondary education. In the first place, the schools conducted by private enterprise charged lower fees and were consequently more able to spread education among the poorer sections of the community. *Secondly*, the grant-in-aid given to these institutions was far less than the expenditure

[1] Schools under Indian managers were 1,341 (with 336,837 pupils) as against 757 (with 286,877 pupils) under other managers.

required for maintenance of a secondary school directly under the control of Government. It was, therefore, argued that a private institution was to be preferred to a Government institution as a means of spreading secondary education among the people in a *short* period and at a *comparatively low cost*.

The Commission held the view that Government ought to withdraw from the field of direct management of secondary schools and encourage private enterprise as largely as possible. It was of opinion that the relation of the State to primary was different from that to secondary education. It was a duty of the State to provide primary education, recourse being had to statutory compulsion if the people showed unwillingness to be educated. Consequently, it was the duty of the State to provide primary schools, not only in places where the people asked for them, but in all places where they were necessary. Secondary education, on the other hand, did not have such a paramount claim upon the State. Government was not under an obligation to provide it directly although it was bound to encourage all such efforts as the people would make to educate themselves. *The Commission, therefore, recommended that secondary education should, as far as possible, be provided on the grant-in-aid basis and Government should withdraw as early as possible, from the direct management of secondary schools.*

This fundamental recommendation—entirely in keeping with the Despatch of 1854—raised the following issues:—

(*a*) What was to be the future of secondary schools already conducted by Government?

(*b*) What was to be done in places where the people were not sufficiently advanced or wealthy to maintain secondary schools on the grant-in-aid basis?

With regard to the first question, the Commission recommended that the goal of Government effort should be to transfer gradually all Government secondary schools to a suitable non-Government agency, provided that adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency were forthcoming. With regard to the second question, the Commission held that the above recommendation did not prohibit the "establishment by Government, in exceptional cases, of secondary schools in places where they may be required in the interests of the people, and where the

people themselves may not be advanced or wealthy enough to establish such schools for themselves with a grant-in-aid". But the Commission emphasised that the duty of Government was restricted only to the establishment of one efficient high school, Government or aided, in each district and that Government should thereafter leave the further expansion of secondary education in that district to the private effort of the people themselves.

Expansion of Secondary Education between 1882 *and* 1902: The action taken on the above recommendations of the Commission may be briefly described. To begin with, the Provincial Governments in India accepted the recommendations of the Commission regarding *expansion* and *encouragement of private enterprise.* Consequently, the twenty years following the report of the Commission saw a very rapid expansion of secondary education, especially through private schools. The following statistics will be found interesting from this point of view:—

	1881-82.	1901-02.
1. No. of Secondary Schools	3,916	5,124
2. No. of Pupils in Secondary Schools ..	214,077	590,129

Vide *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, p. 193.

It has to be remembered that these statistics of secondary education have certain defects. For instance, the term secondary education is not interpreted in the same sense in all provinces. In Bombay and Madras, the pupils in upper primary classes are shown under "primary education" while those in Northern India are shown under "secondary education". Secondly, these figures also include, in some cases, the pupils in primary departments of high schools. These defects cannot be remedied now. But for purposes of comparison, they can be ignored and the above statistics taken as showing, in a general way, the progress of secondary education between 1882 and 1902. It will be seen from the above statistics, therefore, that the expansion of secondary education was very rapid, and that the number of pupils under instruction was more than doubled in the twenty years between 1882 and 1902.

12. **Defects of Secondary Education (1854-1902).** This expansion of secondary education was not an unmixed blessing. Very early in this period, the system of secondary education developed serious defects among which may be mentioned (*a*) the neglect of the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction, (*b*) lack of trained teachers, and (*c*) absence of vocational courses at the secondary stage. Throughout this period, these defects persisted in spite of the several attempts made to remove them. We shall now deal with the history of this aspect of the problem.

(*a*) *Neglect of the Mother-Tongue as a Medium of Instruction:* The Despatch of 1854 had visualised secondary schools teaching through the mother-tongue, in addition to those that taught through the medium of English. Had these sentiments been steadily kept in view by later administrators, there would have grown up a system of high schools teaching through the modern Indian languages and, in course of time, even universities teaching through them could have come into existence. But unfortunately, the policy of the Education Department at this time was apparently not favourable to the cultivation of the modern languages of India; and instead of trying to *eliminate* the difference that existed between Anglo-Vernacular and Vernacular schools as the Despatch expected them to do, the Departments introduced reforms that tended to *widen* this difference. A review of the courses of secondary and primary education (as they existed in 1882) clearly shows that—

(*i*) the study of English as a language was begun (except in Bombay) when the pupil was not properly grounded in his own mother-tongue.

(*ii*) English was taught *as a subject* (except in most high schools of Bengal) *before* it was used *as a medium of instruction.* But the period of its study as a subject was too short to give the pupil a mastery over the language which is essential for its successful use as a medium of instruction. In fact, the Indian Education Commission pointed out that English was used as a medium of instruction, not because the pupil had mastered it as a subject but because the school managers were eager to give the pupil the largest possible opportunities of reading, speaking, and writing English so that he might obtain a command over the language

(*iii*) In the high school stage, English was invariably used as a medium of instruction.

(*iv*) Except in the Punjab, the highest education that could be obtained through the mother-tongue was limited to the middle stage, and the idea of high schools teaching through the mother-tongue seemed to have been given up. Even in the Punjab, there was only one high school teaching through the mother-tongue (at Jalandar) and three other high schools had primary sections. But the fact that there were only four high schools imparting instruction through the mother-tongue as against 181 teaching through English shows how the system had drifted far from the ideals of Wood's Despatch.

In short, the conclusion becomes inevitable that the more important object of the secondary course of 1882 was to spread a *knowledge of English* and *not* to spread *European knowledge of a less high order* through English as well as through the mother-tongue as laid down in the Despatch of 1854.

This question came before the Indian Education Commission for consideration. Unfortunately, the recommendations of the Commission regarding the problem of medium of instruction were extremely disappointing. It said nothing regarding the use of the mother-tongue as the medium at the high school stage, and evidently favoured the use of English. The only problem that it considered was that of the medium of instruction at the *middle school stage*, and even here, it came to no definite conclusion. We may well quote the words of the Commission itself:—

We do not put forward any definite recommendation on this subject but at the same time we commend its consideration, in the light of the observations above made, both to Local Governments and Departments, and in an equal degree to the managers of aided and unaided secondary schools. It is a question in the decision of which much must depend on local circumstances and hence the freest scope in dealing with it should be left to the managers of schools, whatsoever be the view which the Department in any Province may be disposed to adopt.[1]

Mainly owing to these halting recommendations, there was hardly any achievement, between 1882 and 1902, on the issue of adopting the modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the secondary stage. The idea of developing high schools teaching through the medium of the mother-tongue was definitely abandoned and by 1902, the highest education which a child could obtain through its mother-tongue was limited to the middle-

[1]*Report*, pp. 210-11.

school stage only in *all* the Provinces of British India. The Indian Education Commission did not make any definite recommendation which would have decreased the dominance of English or helped the modern Indian languages to come into their own. Consequently, the dominance of English in the secondary course continued to grow; and by 1902, the teaching of English came to be regarded as the *prime object* of the secondary course. The study of the Indian languages were consequently neglected; the study of English was very frequently begun even before the pupil had obtained a good knowledge of his mother-tongue; and English was used as a medium of instruction so early in the secondary course that most of the time of the pupils had to be devoted to overcoming the difficulties created by the medium of instruction and examination rather than in mastering the liberal subjects in the curriculum.

(*b*) *Training of Secondary Teachers:* Although the Educational Despatch of 1854 emphasised the importance of training teachers, no satisfactory measures were taken to train secondary teachers in the thirty years following the Despatch. Prior to the report of the Indian Education Commission, there were, in the whole of India, only two training institutions for secondary (English) school teachers—one at Madras (established in 1856) and the other at Lahore (established in 1880). The training school at Madras consisted, in 1882, of 8 graduates, 3 who had passed the first year examination in Arts, and 18 matriculates. The College at Lahore admitted 30 students of any qualification higher than that of a first year examination in Arts. There was no practising school and in spite of the difference in attainments of the students, they were all treated as one class and put through the same course. It is, therefore, easy to see that only a very small number of teachers in secondary schools could have been *trained* even in the restricted sense that the above picture of the then training institutions suggests.

Even in 1882, it was a matter for controversy whether secondary teachers do or do not need training. It is not, therefore, surprising that the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission on this subject were too tame to be really progressive. It recommended—

(*a*) that an examination in the principles and practice of teaching be instituted, success in which should thereafter be a

condition of permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary school, Government or aided;

(*b*) that graduates wishing to attend a course of instruction in a normal school in the principles and practice of teaching be required to undergo a shorter course of training than others.

As may be easily imagined, progress in training secondary teachers was very slow in the twenty years following the report of the Indian Education Commission. In 1901-02, there were six training colleges (as against two in 1882) at Saidapet, Rajamahendry, Kurseong, Allahabad, Lahore and Jubbulpore. Every province in India had organised a certificate examination for teachers while the Madras University had instituted the L.T. degree. Besides the six colleges mentioned above, there were a number of schools for the training of secondary teachers. By 1902, Bombay was the only major province that had not organised a training institution for secondary teachers.

(*c*) *Absence of Vocational Courses:* The Despatch of 1854 explicitly stated that the instruction in secondary schools should be "practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life", and desired that the new schools which it proposed to establish should "provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life." This clearly shows that the Despatch contemplated the provision of vocational or pre-vocational instruction at the secondary stage.

But this salutary advice was neglected by later administrators. Even as late as 1882, the Indian Education Commission found that it was only in the Province of Bombay that some provision was made for vocational education by the grant of a few scholarships of Rs. 4 per month to children of agriculturists in order to encourage them to attend model farms connected with high schools, for instruction in practical agriculture. Barring this solitary exception, the high schools throughout India had been regarded "not only or chiefly as schools for secondary instruction, intended for pupils whose instruction will terminate at that stage, but in a much greater degree—it may almost be said exclusively—as preparatory schools for those who are to become students of the university".[1]

[1] *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, p. 219.

This unhappy result was due to three causes. In the *first* place, most of the pupils of the secondary schools of those days belonged to the educationally advanced classes of society whose main object was to obtain employment under Government because it secured, at one stroke, a black-coated profession, a status in society, and economic improvement. They flocked to the secondary schools, not with a view to being trained for the *various stations in life*—but with the definite objective of passing the Matriculation which, in those days, opened the door to service under Government. To the more ambitious of these, the passing of the Matriculation meant an entrance to the University from where they could get into higher and more lucrative posts under Government. Hence these classes of society came to attach an exaggerated importance to the Matriculation examination and to a proficiency in English. This demand for the Matriculation certificate was bound to be reflected in the work of secondary schools—all the more so because the bulk of secondary schools came, in the course of time, to be managed by the educationally advanced classes themselves. *Secondly*, Government itself had not taken any steps to provide vocational education in secondary schools. In those days, the schools conducted by Government were considered to be *model* institutions and usually set the standard for private entrepreneurs to follow; and as Government schools made no provision for vocational courses, it was hardly to be wondered if private schools did not do so. *Thirdly*, most of the newer schools that came into existence did not have adequate financial resources at the start, and hence they usually confined their work to the course of liberal education leading to the Matriculation because it required the least equipment and expenditure. One need not, therefore, be surprised if the average secondary school of 1882 meant merely a place for preparing candidates for the Matriculation examination.

The Indian Education Commission, therefore, gave considerable attention to the provision of vocational courses at the upper secondary stage with a view to preparing pupils for various walks of life. It recommended a bifurcation of the secondary course and said:—

> We, therefore, recommend that in the upper classes of high schools there be two divisions; one leading to the Entrance examination of the Universities, the other of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial or non-literary pursuits. (p. 221.)

This recommendation was accepted and alternative examinations came to organise in every province. But the experience was not encouraging. Taking India as a whole, we find that in 1901-02, no less than 23,000 candidates appeared for the Matriculation examination; but the total number of candidates appearing for all the other alternative examinations was only about 2,000 of which about 1,200 belonged to Bombay Province (where many candidates took both the examinations). It is quite evident, therefore, that the alternative courses did not become popular and that the Matriculation examination dominated the field of secondary education almost as exclusively in 1902 as it did in 1882.

In 1902, therefore, the system of secondary education in India presented a strange mixture of good and evil. On the one hand, there had been considerable expansion—particularly of Indian enterprise. On the other hand, there was a good deal of inefficiency and there were serious defects such as the lack of vocational education and the use of English as a medium of instruction. The similarity between this picture and that of collegiate education in 1901-02 is too close to need comments and led to precisely similar controversies in the early years of the twentieth century. The history of these later developments, however, will be dealt with in Chapter VII.

13. **Effects of the New Education (1854-1902).** We have so far briefly traced the history of the development of university and secondary education in India between 1854 and 1902. The most distinctive achievement of the British educationists in India was the creation of this new system of education whose object was to spread Western literature and science and which adopted English as a medium of instruction at all stages except the lower secondary, where it was taught as a subject. It was through the portals of this educational system that the Indian mind made its first acquaintance with the West and it is this educational system that is mainly, if not exclusively, responsible for the modern renaissance in all walks of Indian life.

One of the most important results of the new education was *the birth of a new literature and press* in the modern Indian languages. As stated already, the pioneer work in this direction was done by the missionaries. It was they who started the first printing press in India and established the first newspaper. They studied the modern Indian languages, compiled dictionaries,

wrote their grammars, and translated the Bible into them. But they never intended to build up a literature in modern Indian languages. Their two main objects were (*a*) to create aids for the study of these languages by European missionaries, and (*b*) to translate the Bible and allied literature into them. As soon as both these objectives were realised, they had no further incentive to attempt the creation of a new literature for the people. The officials of the Company and, later on, the Education Departments took up this work and although they came into the field *after* the missionaries, they did a far greater and more valuable service to the cause. It was under this official patronage that the first attempts to write and publish books of a secular character in modern Indian languages were made. In keeping with the aims of the new educational system, the earliest books published were translations of well-known English books or treatises on subjects like history, algebra, geometry, etc. that were being taught in the new system of schools. Prior to, 1854, it was the Committees, Boards, or Councils which were in charge of education or the special *School Book* societies organised for the purpose that prepared and published new books in modern Indian languages and received aid from the Company to do so. After 1855, the work was continued, on a larger scale than before, by Government Book-depots that came to be organised under the Education Departments. A little later, private Indian enterprise came into the field. Some of the men educated in the new system of education felt that books of the type that are found in the English language ought also to be available in modern Indian languages. They, therefore, formed societies for creating such literature in the modern Indian languages or wrote and published books in their individual capacity. They also conducted newspapers with the main object of spreading Western knowledge and bringing about social reforms. As this non-official agency began to develop, the work of Government Book-depots came to be gradually restricted to the preparation and publication of text-books for schools, and the task of producing a new genuine literature in modern Indian languages and of building up an Indian press was almost exclusively taken up by enthusiastic and nationally minded individuals educated in the new system of secondary schools and colleges. They did their task admirably well, especially in view of the almost complete neglect of the study of these languages in the new educational

institutions and by 1902, all the important modern languages of India had evolved a fair amount of new literature and the Indian press had developed to a fairly high degree of efficiency.

In *social and religious matters* also, the new education was creating valuable changes. The early hopes that Indians educated in Western knowledge would espouse Christianity in large numbers were soon proved to be wrong; but the new education did lead to the creation of a movement whose object was to reform Indian society. This was particularly noticeable within the Hindu fold because it was the Hindu society that needed most reform and it was the Hindus that came most largely under the influence of the new education. Within the Hindu community, therefore, we find movements for the liquidation of the caste-system; for the acceptance of widow-remarriage and divorce among the higher castes; for raising the ages of marriage and consent; for the removal of dietary restrictions based on caste; for the abolition of untouchability; and for the amelioration of the economic condition of the Harijans. Moreover, there also arose strong movements for religious reform. Among these, reference has already been made to the work of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, and the founding of the Brahmo Samaj. Far more powerful than this was the movement of the Arya Samaj founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati. The object of this reform was to rejuvenate the Hindu society on the pattern of the Vedic Aryan culture. There was to be no caste-system and all persons belonging to the new sect were to be elevated to the status of *Aryans* and were to enjoy equal social and religious privileges. This was a movement which aimed at welding the whole of the Hindu society into a powerful and homogeneous mass and spread largely in the Punjab and the U.P. The Ramakrishna Mission, started in Bengal in 1897 under the leadership of Swami Vivekanand, was another reformist movement of great importance. A detailed study of the socio-religious history of this period is obviously beyond the scope of this book; but what has already been said above is enough to indicate the various waves of social and religious reform that arose out of the new system of education.

Even greater was the effect of the new education on the *political life* of the country. In the early years of the new

educational system, the attention of educated individuals was drawn most to social reforms. This was partly because social work was really urgent and partly because it did not encounter any opposition from Government. A large majority of the educated men of this period were servants of Government and they found it more convenient to undertake programmes of social reform than to organise political agitation as such. Social and religious reform, therefore, became the principal channel through which the educated intelligentsia tried to serve the country. But very soon, a band of younger men began to come up who felt that mere social and religious work can never solve the problems before the country and that the only way to bring about a regeneration of India was through a political control of Government. This rising group of men could not see eye-to-eye with several official policies and openly criticised them in no equivocal manner. They had no illusions about the blessings of British Rule and although they admitted the several good things that Britain had done for India, they could not ignore the growing poverty of the people and the economic exploitation of their country under British imperialism. They, therefore, raised a voice of protest against the *superior airs* or *chill courtesies of reserve* which Englishmen assumed in their dealings with Indians; the exclusive British monopoly of all higher posts under Government; the economic drain on the country; the growing poverty among the people; the failure to develop the industrial resources of the nation; the slow development of education—primary and higher; and such other ills. It is out of these protests that a political agitation slowly grew up in course of time and led to the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885.

It is often asserted that this political agitation was a direct and exclusive result of the modern system of education. This is going a bit too far and ignoring the laws of history. No nation can continue to govern another for a long time without creating opposition and discontent. Hence, even if the British people had made no attempt to educate Indians, a political agitation against British Rule was bound to start, sooner or later. But having stressed the view that the political agitation in India could have originated even in the absence of the new system of education, it cannot be gainsaid that this agitation was strengthened materially by the new education. Men and women who had

read English history could not but be inspired by the ideals of democracy and self-rule and they began to plead that India was for Indians and that *good* government, even assuming that it did exist, was no substitute for self-government. It was the new system of education, therefore, that gave educated Indians an insight into Western political life, created or strengthened their love of liberty and showed them the way in which to organise a fight against their foreign rulers.

Another great achievement of this period was *the change brought about in the Western attitude to Eastern religion, philosophy and literature.* Prior to 1813, the average Englishman believed, on the basis of missionary propaganda, that all Eastern religions were false and that all literatures in the Eastern classical languages were utterly useless—an attitude that is so typically expressed by Charles Grant. More or less the same view continued to be held till 1854 as the Minutes of Macaulay, Bentinck and Auckland will show. It is true that there was a rival view in the field held by such eminent persons as Warren Hastings, Minto, Wilson, Prinsep and other orientalists who believed that Eastern philosophy, religion and literature deserved a careful study. But they were a small minority. Macaulay would have eliminated them altogether; but could not. Auckland continued them on sufferance in a limited field, but at least left them in peace; and the Despatch of 1854 grudgingly admitted that some advantages do spring from a study of Eastern classical languages. It admitted, for instance, that a study of these languages did have a place on historical, antiquarian or legal grounds. But all the same, it still believed that "the system of science and philosophy which forms the learning of the East abounds with grave errors". This hostile attitude, however, began to give way soon after 1854.

An epoch-making event in the new movement was the publication, in 1801-02, of a French translation of the *Upanishads.* This had been prepared by a French scholar, A. Duperron, from a Persian translation of the Upanishads prepared by Prince Dara Shikoh, the eldest brother of Aurangzeb. It fell into the hands of Schopenhauer, the great German philosopher, who was deeply stirred by it and with him begins the influence of Eastern philosophy on the West—a movement which gathered strength with the passage of years and which has, if anything, become

stronger at present than ever in the past. About this very time, another great Sanskrit scholar, Sir William Jones, was translating Sanskrit works into English and popularising them. His translation of Kalidas's *Shakuntala* was a masterpiece of literary art. He also laid the foundation of comparative philology. But by far the greatest service in popularising the Eastern classical languages was done by the greatest of all Orientalists of the nineteenth century, Max Müller. His great work was the translation of the *Vedas*—a task at which he laboured for 30 years in spite of poverty and neglect. The work of these and other western scholars who followed them was soon greatly strengthened by the newly created Indian universities. Although these bodies neglected the modern Indian languages they gave every encouragement to the classical ones. Consequently, a critical and scientific study of the classical languages became a distinct feature of collegiate education in the Victorian Era. It led to a better appreciation of ancient culture, removed the misconceptions about ancient history and religion which had been made common in the earlier period by ignorant officials or missionaries, and created an Indian band of Oriental scholars among whom may be mentioned the names of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, K. T. Telang and others. These pioneers carried the torch still further and, if English education was trying to interpret the West to the East, these orientalists were trying to interpret the East, not only to the West, but to the East itself in a light and context that had not been known before. It is, therefore, the work of these oriental scholars in Indian universities that was gradually bringing about a *synthesis* of Eastern and Western cultures. The orthodox Hindu or Muslim who refused to learn anything of the West was no longer in the forefront; in the same way, the missionary who wanted to substitute Eastern culture by the Western was also relegated to a subordinate position. And the new Indian Universities which taught English and the classical languages together were creating a generation in whom the synthesis of both the cultures had begun to take place. The emphasis was still on the West no doubt; but the East had no longer to wait outside as an *untouchable*—she was admitted straight into the innermost shrine.

With the achievement of this synthesis, some of the evils of the new education began to disappear. In the early years of

the new education, the attempt to Westernise the content dominated exclusively. Consequently, the students were generally unable to digest the new exotic culture and showed signs of a deep cultural unsettling. They blindly imitated Englishmen in dress, manners, and outward social behaviour; they drank wine and ate beef rather proudly in the belief that they were copying Western virtues; they thought it beneath their dignity to talk or write in an Indian language and used English as often as possible; and most of all, they developed a contempt for all Eastern or ancient ideas. Some of them became converts to Christianity; several more became atheists or agnostics; and some joined the Brahmo or Prarthana Samajes. It was this erratic behaviour of the early educated youths that frightened many an orthodox parent and hindered the progress of the new system of education. But as the emphasis on Westernisation decreased, as Eastern culture came to be better appreciated, and as a synthesis of the two cultures began to be worked out to an ever-increasing extent, the cultural disturbances of the new educational system became less and less pronounced. It is true that the new education freed the Indian mind from the thraldom of old-world ideas; but it now began to be more evident that all that is new is not good, nor all that is old is bad. Discrimination began to be exercised and while absorbing several new ideas from the West, an attempt began to be made to preserve all that is good in the East as well. It is out of this synthesis that the new leadership in Indian national life was born in this period—a leadership that included such great names as those of Pandit Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, Keshub Chandra Sen, Swami Vivekananda, Justice M. G. Ranade, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and others.

Turning to the other side of the shield, we find that the main defects of this new education were two: In the first place, it was not intended to contribute and did not contribute to the economic and industrial development of India. Secondly, it was restricted to a small percentage of the population only. The paucity of funds and the adoption of English as the medium of instruction implied that this education could never be given to the masses. It, therefore, led to the creation of a new class or small intelligentsia, that did not have much in common with the masses. Moreover, this new class was urban in character, partly because the

secondary schools and colleges were all located in towns and partly because the nature of their subsequent employment compelled most educated men to live in towns only. Thirdly, it consisted mostly of persons drawn from the upper castes or the well-to-do classes of society. In other words, the new system of education led to the division of the Indian society into two distinct groups—a small minority of highly educated men and women, an educated aristocracy which was distinctly urban and upper-class in character, and a large majority of almost illiterate people who lived in rural areas and belonged to the lower castes. It is out of this schism that most of the evils of modern Indian education arose and, unfortunately, the schism still remains unbridged.

14. **Primary Education (1854-1902).** The history of primary education during this period can be conveniently studied under four heads (*a*) the Despatch of 1859, (*b*) events of the period 1859-82, (*c*) recommendations of the Indian Education Commission (1882-83) and (*d*) events of the period 1882-1902.

15. **Despatch of 1859.** The Despatch of 1854 had recommended (*a*) that the indigenous schools should be incorporated in the official system of education, (*b*) that larger amounts should be spent on primary education, and (*c*) that a system of grants-in-aid should be evolved for private primary schools on which alone should Government mainly rely for the spread of education among the masses. But as early as 1859, another Despatch reversed these orders, directed that local rates should be levied for educational purposes, and observed that the Department should rely mainly on Government schools for the spread of mass education. It said:—

> On the whole, Her Majesty's Government can entertain little doubt that *the grant-in-aid system, as hitherto in force, is unsuited to the supply of Vernacular Education to the masses of the population; and it appears to them, so far as they have been able to form an opinion, that the means of elementary education should be provided by the direct instrumentality of the officers of Government,* according to some one of the plans in operation in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, or by such modification of those schemes as may commend itself to the several local Governments as best suited to the circumstances of different localities. . . .
>
> As regards the source from which the funds for Elementary Education should be obtained, it has been on different occasions proposed by officers connected with Education that, in order to avoid the difficulties experienced in obtaining voluntary local support, an Education Rate should be imposed, from which the cost of all schools throughout the country should be defrayed. And other officers who have considered India to be as yet unprepared for such a measure, have regarded other arrangements as merely temporary and palliative, and the

levy of a compulsory rate as the only really effective step to be taken for permanently supplying the deficiency.[1]

Perhaps the explanation of these recommendations of the Despatches of 1854 and 1859 which generally contradict each other on the subject of elementary education, and the subsequent controversies that raged round them till about 1870, may be traced to the contemporary controversies in England. At this time, elementary education in England was mostly provided by denominational schools supported, to a certain extent, by Parliamentary grants. But opinion was keenly divided regarding the future of elementary education. One section held the view that voluntary effort—which meant mostly the denominational schools—was the best agency for the spread of elementary education, and that Parliament should do no more than give financial assistance to voluntary schools. This section opposed all attempts to introduce a State system of education because of the fear that, in State schools, there would be no freedom to the various sects to teach the principles of their religion. On the other hand, the opposite section held the view that the system of voluntary schools was defective; that the voluntary agencies were hiding fundamental defects under a show of activity; that the voluntary schools had not succeeded in bringing all children into schools; and that universal education could not be realised with the help of a voluntary agency alone. This section recommended the imposition of local taxes for education and the establishment of a system of public schools maintained and controlled by *ad hoc* bodies consisting of the representatives of the people. The controversy between these two sections of public opinion dominated the field of elementary education in England between the years 1846 and 1870 and was only partially closed by the Education Act of 1870 which empowered Government, under certain conditions, to establish School Boards with powers to levy local taxes for the establishment and maintenance of public schools and to compel attendance of children between 5 and 13 years of age.

It was inevitable that the effects of this controversy should be felt on Indian educational policy also; and one is driven to the conclusion that the recommendations of the Despatch of 1859 as well as those of 1854 were more a result of the controversies

[1]Paras. 50-52.

in England than of the experience gained in India or of a careful study of what was best suited to Indian conditions.

16. **Events of the Period 1859-82.** This Despatch naturally led to some controversies in India where opinion had not yet crystallised. While some preferred to abide by the recommendations of 1854, others chose to follow the lead given by the Despatch of 1859. The conflict of opinion centred mainly round three points: the attitude to indigenous schools; the levy of local taxes; and the claims of primary education to receive a grant-in-aid from Government Revenues. It is not necessary here to go into the protracted discussions that followed, especially as no common conclusion was arrived at and as each Province was allowed to develop on its own lines. But the following narrative of the main events of the period between the Despatch of 1859 and the appointment of the Indian Education Commission in 1882 will assist materially in understanding the *raison d'etre* of the recommendations of the Commission.

(*a*) *Indigenous Schools:* The Despatch of 1859 led to a keen dispute regarding the agency to be adopted for the spread of primary education. Some argued that the agency of the indigenous schools should be adopted *in toto* but that Government may, if necessary, maintain only a few schools as model institutions. Others argued that elementary education should be spread as widely as possible through schools directly controlled by Government. There were also some who preferred a compromise between these extreme viewpoints. Ultimately, however, each Province was allowed to develop on its own lines. The following account of Provincial developments will show how the indigenous schools fared in each province during the period under review.

(*i*) *Madras:* The duty of diffusing primary education among the masses was neglected by Government until 1868. In that year, Government revised its educational code and introduced the system of payment by results for primary schools. The policy adopted in Madras was to rely mainly on private effort and to open departmental schools only when private effort was not forthcoming. In 1881-82, there were only 1,263 departmental schools (with 46,975 pupils) as against 13,223 aided schools (with 3,13,668 pupils). Besides, the number of unaided indigenous schools known to the Department was stated to be 2,828 with 54,064 pupils.

(*ii*) *Bombay:* In Bombay, the Education Department relied almost exclusively on its own schools for the spread of primary education and hence the indigenous schools were neglected from the beginning. Prior to 1870, hardly any attempt had been made to assist indigenous schools. In that year, Mr. Peile, the then Director of Public Instruction, framed a special set of rules for assisting indigenous schools; but the extent of the assistance actually afforded may be gauged from the fact that even in 1881-82, only 73 indigenous schools were in receipt of aid although the Department was aware of the existence of as many as 3,954 indigenous schools which gave education to 78,205 pupils.[1] It may also be noted that the Education Commission came to the conclusion that the Bombay Education Department had followed a policy of deliberate inactivity with regard to the practical encouragement of aided schools.

(*iii*) *Bengal:* In Bengal, on the other hand, the system of primary education had been entirely built up on the indigenous schools. The following statistics of 1881-82 speak for themselves:—

1.	Number of Departmental Schools ..	28
2.	Number of pupils in Departmental Schools ..	916
3.	Number of Aided Schools	47,374
4.	Number of pupils in Aided Schools ..	835,435
5.	Number of Unaided Indigenous Schools known to the Department	3,265
6.	Number of pupils in the above	49,238
7.	Number of Unaided but Inspected Schools ..	4,376
8.	Number of pupils in the above	62,038

The one defect of the system, however, was the small amount of aid afforded. In 1881-82, this was only Rs. 11 a year per school.

The history of the indigenous schools in these three Provinces has been given in detail because the other Provinces followed one or other of these models with slight variations. As in Bombay, the North-Western Province also relied mainly on the Halkabandi schools, which have been already described, and did not make any attempts to incorporate the indigenous schools. In 1881-82, an enquiry revealed that there were as many as 6,712 unaided indigenous schools in the Province with 61,634 pupils;

[1] *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, p. 67.

but the number of aided primary schools in that year was only 243 with 15,019 pupils. Coorg also followed Bombay and supplied primary schools through the direct agency of the Department without making any effort to stimulate private enterprise or to incorporate the indigenous schools in its educational organization. The Punjab followed the model of the North-Western Province. In 1881-82, the number of aided primary schools in the Punjab was only 278 with 14,616 pupils whereas an enquiry showed that there were as many as 13,109 indigenous schools in the Province with 135,384 pupils. The Central Provinces followed Bengal and actively encouraged indigenous schools. But there was no strong system of indigenous schools in the Province and hence it had to open a large number of departmental schools. In 1881-82, the Province had 894 departmental schools with 55,745 pupils and 368 aided schools with 18,786 pupils. Berar followed the same policy as in Bombay and generally relied on departmental schools; but it made greater attempts to encourage indigenous schools. In 1881-82, it had 467 departmental schools with 27,844 pupils, 209 aided schools with 4,212 pupils and 207 unaided schools with 2,672 pupils. Assam was a part of Bengal till 1874 and hence its primary system was also built up on the basis of indigenous schools. In 1881-82, there were in Assam only 7 Government schools with 187 pupils, 1,256 aided schools with 35,643 pupils and 497 indigenous schools with 9,733 pupils.

(*b*) *Finance:* We now turn to the next point of conflict, *viz.*, the ways and means in which primary education was financed.

The Despatch of 1859 had suggested that local rates should be imposed to meet the cost of mass education. This idea was slightly modified by the Government of India which was of opinion that local rates should be imposed, not only for education, but for all objects of local utility. Accordingly, local rates were generally imposed in all provinces to meet several objects of local expenditure including education. In rural areas, the land revenue supplied a very good basis for the assessment of local rates, and consequently, the local taxes in rural areas took the form of a cess on land revenue, except in Bengal where the existence of the permanent land revenue settlement introduced by Lord Cornwallis presented an obstacle. In town areas, the usual form of a local rate was a tax on houses and this was imposed and collected

through municipalities which came to be established in all provinces during this period. The cess on land revenue was generally intended for roads and education, while the municipalities were entrusted with several duties which included even a payment for the police force.

The work of imposing local rates for education was carried out in all provinces except Bengal in the decade 1861-71. Reference has already been made to the 1 per cent cess on land revenue collected in the North-Western Province for educational purposes. The Punjab was the next to follow this example. It levied a cess of 1 per cent on land revenue as early as 1856-57 although at that time it was not levied in all places. The levy of the cess was made general in 1864. The Province of Oudh imposed a cess of 2½ per cent on land revenue in 1861 and earmarked 1 per cent out of it for education. The Central Provinces followed the example of the North-Western Province and levied the cess at 1 per cent in 1862-63. Two years later, the cess was raised to 2 per cent as the amount realised from the 1 per cent cess was not adequate to meet the requirements. Bombay introduced a cess of 1 anna on every rupee of land revenue (6¼ per cent) in 1863 and generalised its levy by the Bombay Local Funds Act of 1869. One-third of the cess was earmarked for education. A similar local fund cess was imposed in Sind in 1865. But only half of it was given to all local purposes and the other half was retained by Government as a set-off against expenditure incurred by it for local purposes such as canal clearances, public buildings, etc. Berar imposed a local fund cess of 7½ per cent and earmarked one-fifth of it for education. Madras passed a Local Funds Act in 1871 and imposed a cess at a rate not exceeding 1 anna on land revenue but did not prescribe any definite proportion of it to be paid to education. A local cess was introduced in Assam in 1879 but in Bengal, no cess on land revenue was imposed even up to 1882.

The levy of these local fund cesses was very warmly welcomed by the Education Departments. The demand for educational institutions was growing rapidly and the expenditure on education was mounting up. In those days, all additional expenditure had to be sanctioned by the Government of India, and it was, therefore, extremely difficult to obtain additional allotments for education. At this juncture, the levy of the local fund cess came as a great windfall.

On the other hand, the Municipal Acts of the various provinces did not give equally happy results, the main cause of the failure being the absence of any statutory provision to the effect that a prescribed percentage of the total income of municipalities must be spent upon education. The law *permitted* the municipalities to incur expenditure on education but did not *oblige* them to do so. Consequently, the municipalities did not make as great contributions to education as they ought to. How inadequate was the attention which municipalities paid to education generally can be seen from the following statistics[1] given by the Indian Education Commission:—

Province.	*Percentage of expenditure on education to the total income of Municipalities.*
Madras	4·09
Bombay	1·17
Bengal	0·48
North-Western Province and Oudh	1·77
Punjab	5·29
Central Provinces	3·01
Assam	0·39
Berar	1·33

In contrast with the above figures, most of the new schools that were being established came to be located in *towns* because it was to these places that public awakening was then confined. As the municipalities did not make adequate contributions to education, the money to support these schools mostly came, not from the taxes raised in the area of the towns, but from local cesses raised in villages. This evil was particularly felt in Bombay.

Several intricate problems were connected with the levy and the administration of these local funds for education—both District and Municipal. It will be beyond the scope of this book to go into them in detail. But the following analysis of the system of financing primary education, as it then prevailed, will be helpful to understand the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission:—

(*i*) In Bombay and Madras, the local fund cess was entirely at the disposal of the local boards for expenditure on objects within their purview. But in the Provinces of Northern India,

[1]*Report* p. 158.

the local funds were also subject to certain deductions on account of works for extension of irrigation or prevention of famine.

(*ii*) In Bombay and Madras, the income from the local fund cess was regarded as a *fund*—distinct from the revenue of the Provincial Government. Hence, if any unspent balances remained in any year, they could be utilized by the Boards in subsequent years. But in the Provinces of Northern India, the local fund was looked upon as Government revenue placed at the disposal of the boards for local expenditure. Hence, if any amount remained unspent during any year, it lapsed to the Provincial Government.

(*iii*) In Bombay, there was a *District Educational Fund* in each district, consisting of Government grant, one-third part of the local fund income, contributions of municipalities within the district, etc. This was a very advantageous system which ensured that all sums allocated to education should be spent on education only. Under this system, unspent balances of any year were available for expenditure on educational objects only during subsequent years and could not be diverted to other objects within the sphere of local boards.

(*iv*) In Bombay, a definite proportion of the local fund cess, *viz.*, one-third, was assigned for education. But in Madras it was not so assigned with the result that education got a much smaller part of the local fund income than it ought to have had.

(*v*) The object to which the local funds were to be applied was also a disputed point. Some argued that it could and should be applied to higher education. Others held the view that the elementary education of the masses had the first claim upon the local funds.

(*vi*) The unit of area which should be considered fit to be entrusted with the management of primary education was also a point in dispute. Some argued that a small unit secures perfect local knowledge and interest and conduces to efficiency. Others preferred a bigger unit such as a district. The practice in the several provinces was not uniform and in 1882, the question was still open.

(*vii*) Perhaps the most disputed point referred to the grant which was payable by Government in support of local funds devoted to education. One view maintained that the local fund cess was just like contributions from the people and was

consequently entitled to receive a grant-in-aid from Government. The other view held that the local fund cess was really a tax and hence had no claims to receive a grant-in-aid from Government. The orders of the Government of India itself were conflicting. On some occasions the view had been held that the education of the masses had a claim on Government revenues because the Despatch of 1854 had laid down that the attempts of Government should be directed to the education of the great mass of the people who were utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts. On other occasions, the view had been held that "the State had never undertaken to provide for the education of the people",[1] and that the education of the masses must be supported by local funds. But finally in 1871, it was laid down that Government grant to local funds was *not to exceed* one-third of the total expenditure.

(*c*) *Training of Teachers:* The Despatch of 1859 observed that "the institution of training schools does not seem to have been carried out to the extent contemplated by the Court of Directors". This admonition from the Secretary of State naturally led to a quickening of effort in favour of the training of teachers and by 1882, each province had established several training institutions for primary teachers.

Taking India as a whole there were, in 1881-82, 106 Normal schools with an enrolment of 3,886 primary teachers, maintained at a total cost of about Rs. 4 lakhs.

(*d*) *Expansion:* Expansion of primary education depends on two factors—the extent of the funds provided and the cost of the agency employed. The foregoing survey of events has shown that the educational systems of the several provinces of India varied considerably in both the matters, and consequently, expansion of primary education also showed great variations. In Bengal, for instance, the local fund cess had not been imposed; but a large Government grant coupled with the adoption of the agency of indigenous schools helped the Province to achieve considerable expansion. In Bombay, on the other hand, the funds available for education were the largest; but owing to an almost exclusive reliance on the costlier agency of departmental schools the expansion was not so great as it might otherwise have been. In the Punjab, the agency of departmental schools was adopted

[1]Letter from Government of India to Government of Bengal, No. 5876 of 28-10-1867, para. 5.

although the funds were limited. Consequently, the expansion of primary education was much less than in either of the two provinces mentioned above. The following extract from the report of the Commission gives a good picture of the situation. The extreme educational backwardness of India at that time will be realised all the more if it is remembered that the percentages given in the extract are calculated on the 26,43,978 pupils in *all* educational institutions and not on the 20,61,541 pupils in primary schools only:—

In the area to which our enquiries are confined, containing 859,844 square miles, with 552,379 villages and towns, inhabited by 202,604,080 persons, there were only 112,218 schools and 2,643,978 Indian children or adults at school in 1881-82. The proportion of pupils both male and female, to the population of school-going age, calculated in accordance with the principles described in Chapter II[1], is shown below:—

Province.	Percentage of males.	Percentage of females.
Madras	17·78	1·48
Bombay { British Districts	24·96	1·85
Bombay { Native States	17·85	0·93
Bengal	20·82	0·80
North-Western Provinces & Oudh	8·25	0·28
Punjab	12·11	0·72
Central Provinces	10·49	0·44
Assam	14·61	0·46
Coorg	22·44	2·86
Hyderabad Assigned Districts	17·10	0·22
Total for India ..	16·28	0·84

These figures exclude the attendance in schools for Europeans and Eurasians, and in unattached institutions for professional or technical education, they include that in all other institutions known to the Department in 1881-82. The most advanced Province of India still fails to reach 75 per cent of its male children of the school-going age and 98 per cent of its female children of that age; while in one province, with its total population of both sexes exceeding 44 millions, nearly 92 boys in every hundred are growing up in ignorance, and female education has hardly begun to make any progress. The census returns are equally conclusive in showing the magnitude of the work that remains before education in India can be placed upon a national basis. Taking the male population of Ajmer and of the nine provinces with which our Report deals, which exceeds 103 millions, about 94¾ millions are wholly illiterate; while of the female population, numbering about 99,700,000 no less than 99½ millions are returned as unable to read or write.[2]

17. **The Indian Education Commission.** In view of the slow progress of primary education in the period from 1854 to 1882, it was but natural that Government should direct the Indian

[1]At 15 per cent of the population.

[2]*Report*, p. 584.

Education Commission to pay special attention to the subject of primary education. Consequently, the subject of primary education figures prominently in the Report of the Indian Education Commission and some of its most important recommendations refer to the spread of elementary education among the people. They can be conveniently divided under the following six heads:—

(*a*) Policy;
(*b*) Legislation and administration;
(*c*) Encouragement of indigenous schools;
(*d*) School administration;
(*e*) Training of Teachers; and
(*f*) Finance.

(*a*) *Policy:* Regarding the policy of Government towards primary education, the Commission recommended:—

(*i*) That primary education be regarded as the instruction of the masses through the vernacular in such subjects as will fit them for their position in life, and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the university.

(*ii*) That while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore.

(*iii*) That the principle laid down in Lord Hardinge's Resolution dated 11th October 1844, be re-affirmed, *i.e.*, that in selecting persons to fill the lowest offices under Government preference be always given to candidates who can read and write.

(*iv*) That primary education be extended in backward districts, especially in those inhabited mainly by aboriginal races, by the instrumentality of the Department pending the creation of school-boards, or by specially liberal grants-in-aid to those who are willing to set up and maintain schools.

(*b*) *Legislation and Administration:* Following the method adopted in England where, under the Education Acts of 1870 and 1876, the whole country was divided into a large number of school-districts for each of which a local committee with powers to levy taxes, to provide schools, and to compel attendance of children of a given age, had been established, the Indian Education Commission recommended that the control of primary education should be made over to District and Municipal Boards.

(*c*) *Encouragement of Indigenous Schools:* On the subject of indigenous schools, the Commission was of opinion that these schools deserved encouragement and incorporation in the official system of education. It observed:—

Admitting, however, the comparative inferiority of indigenous institutions, we consider that efforts should now be made to encourage them. They have

survived a severe competition, and have thus proved that they possess both vitality and popularity. Numerous examples furnished by the history of education in Madras, as well as in Bengal, prove the possibility of adapting the indigenous system to modern requirements, and while the cess schools of Bombay will supply a valuable model, the indigenous schools, if recognised and assisted as we shall presently propose, may be expected to improve their method and fill a useful position in the State system of national education.[1]

The Commission held the view that the District and Municipal Boards consisting of Indians would be more sympathetic to the indigenous schools than the Education Department, and recommended that the work of assisting indigenous schools should be assigned to them. This was a move in the right direction; but it was counter-balanced by the recommendation of the Commission that a system of Payment by Results should be adopted in dealing with indigenous schools. This was not a happy recommendation. A better system would have been that of 'capitation grants'—a system that has always led to quick expansion and is invaluable when the main objective of the policy is a rapid advance to universal education. But the Commission could not see its way to adopt it in India. We have already seen that the Commission recommended that the system of payment by results should be abandoned in so far as *collegiate education* was concerned. We have also seen that the Commission did not advise either the complete acceptance or the complete rejection of the system in so far as grants to *secondary schools* were concerned. But the Commission was definitely of the opinion that the system of payment by results was the best method of assisting *indigenous schools* and recommended its universal adoption. This unhappy decision led to the domination of the system in all the provincial rules of grant-in-aid to primary schools till a new lead was given by Lord Curzon in the early years of this century.

Lastly, the Commission suggested that an attempt should be made to improve the teaching in indigenous schools, gradually and steadily, and with this end in view, made the following recommendations:—

(*i*) that a steady and gradual improvement of indigenous schools be aimed at, with as little immediate interference with their personnel or curriculum as possible;

(*ii*) that special encouragement be afforded to indigenous schoolmasters to undergo training, and to bring their relatives and probable successors under regular training;

[1] *Report*, p. 68.

(*iii*) that the standards of examination be arranged to suit each province, with the view of preserving all that is valued by the people in the indigenous system, and of encouraging by special grants the gradual introduction of useful subjects of instruction.

(*d*) *School Administration:* On the subject of the internal management of primary schools, the Commission recommended that there should be no attempt to achieve uniformity of standards in all the Provinces; that the instruction in primary schools should be adapted to the environment and should be simplified wherever possible; that practical subjects, such as Indian methods of arithmetic and accounts should be introduced; that managers should be free to choose the text-books for their schools; that the utmost elasticity should be permitted regarding hours of the day and the seasons of the year during which the schools are to remain open; that instruction should be through the mother-tongue of the children and that primary schools should be inspected *in situ*.

(*e*) *Finance:* On the most important subject of Finance the Commission made several recommendations which finally closed the controversies of the earlier period. For instance, the Commission recommended that a specific *fund* should be created for primary education; that the accounts of the primary education fund in municipal areas should be separated from those for the rural areas in order to avoid the expenditure in municipal areas of money meant for the villages. It also laid down that the local funds should be utilised *mainly* for primary education and only incidentally—if at all—for secondary and collegiate education. Finally, it observed that it was the duty of Government to assist the local funds by a suitable system of grant-in-aid. But the Commission, unfortunately, refused to make concrete recommendations regarding the extent of such grant-in-aid, and merely observed that the local funds had "a large claim on provincial revenues." The vagueness of this recommendation was justified by the Commission on two grounds: *firstly*, it was argued that conditions varied so greatly from province to province that it was impossible to lay down any hard and fast rule. For instance, Government grant to primary education in Bengal, where no cess had been imposed, must naturally be assessed on different principles from the grant in Bombay where a very large revenue could be obtained by the local cesses. *Secondly*, the Commission thought that it was not called upon to consider the

financial aspects of its proposals. Nevertheless, the general trend of the opinion of the Commission may be stated briefly as under:—

(*i*) The main responsibility for the spread of primary education rests upon the local funds and the provincial Government plays only a subordinate role by giving suitable grant-in-aid to local funds.

(*ii*) Local funds, even when raised by legislative sanction, are really equivalent to funds raised by the people themselves and are, therefore, entitled to claim a grant-in-aid from Government.

(*iii*) The levy of the local funds does not diminish, but rather increases the obligation of the State to help those who are least able to help themselves and yet come forward to supply local resources for their education.

(*iv*) The ideal to be kept in view by the provincial governments in aiding local funds is enunciated in the letter from the Government of India, No. 63, Home Department, dated 11th February, 1871, that is, Government grant to local funds should be at the rate of half the local assets or one-third of the total expenditure.

A little calculation will show the utter inadequacy of the abov· proposals of the Commission. The population of British India was then about 2,000 lakhs. At 15 per cent the number of children of school-going age would be 300 lakhs. At that time the cost per pupil in a departmental school was Rs. 4-6-5 of which Government bore Re. 0-15-4, Local Funds bore Rs. 2-9-11 and Municipal Funds bore Re. 0-4-6, while the cost in an aided school was Rs. 3-7-1 of which Government and Local Funds bore Rs. 1-2-0. Even assuming that all children would be educated in aided schools only, the total cost to Government and Local Funds on account of universal education would have been about Rs. 337 lakhs. As stated before, the total expenditure on primary education in 1882 was Rs. 16.77 lakhs from Provincial Revenues and Rs. 24.88 lakhs from Local Funds. Under the proposals of the Commission, the increase in expenditure on primary education from Government Funds would have been more than 500 per cent—from Rs. 17 lakhs to Rs. 112 lakhs and that in the expenditure from Local Funds would have been about 800 per cent—from Rs. 25 lakhs to Rs. 224 lakhs. Obviously the question was of immense importance and the ways and means of raising these huge sums—from the standpoint of that period—ought to have received a much closer attention at the hands of the Commission and its recommendations ought to have been far more definite than to say that "still greater efforts are generally demanded" or that "the liberality of one part of India may afford an example to local Governments or

Local Boards elsewhere." This disregard of the financial implications of the problem robs the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission of a large part of their utility.

18. **Events of the Period of 1882 to 1902.** Some of the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission were immediately accepted by Government. Special reference must be made to the scheme of Local Self-Government which was introduced by Lord Ripon. Henceforward, the history of primary education in India is indissolubly connected with the growth of Local Self-Government. A detailed study of the problem is beyond the scope of this book; but the following brief notes will be of assistance for an understanding of the future history of primary education.

In his famous resolution on this subject, Lord Ripon observed that Local Self-Government was to be looked upon, not "as a means of devolution of authority in administration and decentralization of financial resources but as a means of popular education by which alone progressive communities could cope with the increasing problem of Government", and directed that active measures should be taken to develop local bodies in India. His view was not received well in all quarters and some Provincial Governments pointed out that his proposals would lead to a loss of efficiency. But he affirmed that, in course of time, efficiency was bound to follow as local knowledge and local interest were brought to bear upon the problems of administration. He held the view that it was not only bad policy but sheer waste of power not to utilize the services of the growing intelligent class of public-spirited men in the country and said that local bodies must succeed—

(*a*) if adequate resources were made available;

(*b*) if transfer of duties involving additional expenditure was simultaneously followed by transfer of additional and adequate resources; and

(*c*) if Government officers "set themselves to foster sedulously the small beginnings of the independent political life and came to realise that the system really opened to them fairer field for the exercise of administrative and directive energy than the more autocratic system which it superseded".

In accordance with this policy, Local Boards or Councils and Municipal Boards or Committees or Councils were established in all the provinces of India. Primary education was declared to be an obligatory duty of these local bodies although secondary and higher education was not excluded from their activities. It was generally laid down that the first duty of the Local Boards was towards primary education. In some provinces rules were framed prescribing the minimum percentage of its income which a local body ought to devote to education and directing that no money should be spent on secondary or higher education unless the claims of primary education were adequately provided for. Rules were also framed prescribing the powers and duties of local bodies over primary education and grant-in-aid codes were drawn up. Broadly speaking, therefore, the administrative and legislative measures recommended by the Indian Education Commission were generally carried out, and subject to rules made in that behalf, the control of primary education was transferred to local bodies. The extent of this transfer of control, it must be remembered, varied from province to province; even in the same province, it was greater in the case of the municipalities where public opinion was more developed than in the case of local boards where public awakening was not appreciable. But the important point to be noticed is that a step, however small, was definitely taken in a direction from which it was next to impossible to retract.

Coming to the recommendations of the Commission regarding indigenous schools, we find that their acceptance was not universal except for the adoption of the system of payment by results. It would appear from the comparative statistics[1] of primary schools and pupils for 1881-82 and 1901-02 that Assam had abandoned its old policy and gone in a direction contrary to that recommended by the Commission. Berar, Coorg, and the Punjab continued in their old groove. The United Provinces and Bombay showed considerable improvement. But in 1881-82 Bombay had 3,954 indigenous schools with 78,205 pupils and the United Provinces had 6,712 schools with 61,634 pupils. Hence it must be concluded that a majority of the indigenous schools was allowed to die out in these provinces and only a minority was incorporated into the departmental system. Bengal showed a reduction in the number

[1] *Vide* Nurullah and Naik: *History of Education in India during the British Period*, p. 358.

of aided schools and a rise in unaided schools. There were 3,265 unaided schools in 1881-82; but their number in 1901-02 was as high as 11,630. Hence, the policy of Bengal cannot be said to be fully in accord with the recommendations of the Commission, although it did not multiply departmental schools.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the problem of the indigenous schools ceased to exist. In provinces where they were incorporated into the educational system, they became an integral part of the system itself and hence lost their *indigenous* character that was so well described by the Indian Education Commission. On the other hand, they died of sheer neglect or competition in provinces where they were deliberately treated as the *untouchables* in the caste system of the Education Department.

Turning to the recommendations of the Commission on the policy regarding primary education and its finance, we find that they were not carried out by the Provincial Governments. As shown earlier, there was a rapid expansion of collegiate and secondary education during the twenty years following the report of the Commission. Most of the additional funds were, therefore, taken up by these two branches of the educational system and primary education had to starve. The expenditure on primary education from Government funds was Rs. 16.77 lakhs in 1881-82 and it rose only to Rs. 16.92 lakhs in 1901-02! The local bodies did a considerable service to the cause of mass education because their contributions to the primary education fund in 1901-02 totalled Rs. 46.1 lakhs as against Rs. 24.9 lakhs in 1881-82. But in the absence of any substantial increase in the contribution from Government, no great expansion of primary education could be achieved and the various branches of the educational system continued to march with an even more unequal step than ever before.

With regard to actual statistics of schools and literacy in 1901-02, the unsatisfactory position of primary education is thus summarised by the *Resolution on Educational Policy* dated 11th March, 1902:—

15. How, then, do matters stand in respect of the extension among the masses of primary education? The population of British India is over two hundred and forty millions. It is commonly reckoned that fifteen per cent of the population are of school-going age. According to this standard there are more than eighteen million of boys who ought now to be at school, but of these only a little more than one-sixth are actually receiving primary education.

If the statistics are arranged by provinces, it appears that out of a hundred boys of an age to go to school, the number attending primary schools of some kind ranges from between eight and nine in the Punjab and the United Provinces, to twenty-two and twenty-three in Bombay and Bengal. In the census of 1901 it was found that only one in ten of the male population, and only seven in a thousand of the female population were literate. These figures exhibit the vast dimensions of the problem, and show much remains to be done before the proportion of the population receiving elementary instruction can approach the standard recognised as indispensable in more advanced countries.

19. **A General Review of the Development of Primary Education in India (1854-1902).** It will be seen from the foregoing narrative that the progress of primary education was very slow in this period. This result appears paradoxical when compared with the declarations of offic al policy made from time to time. The Despatch of 1854, for instance, ordered that the attention of Government should be devoted more to primary than to higher education and that the *active measures* of Government should be directed towards the education of the masses. It also promised that a *considerable increase of expenditure* would be sanctioned for the purpose. The same view was reiterated in the educational surveys held between 1865-66 and 1870-71. The Indian Education Commission also held the same view and recommended that "while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable, in the pr esent circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provisiotn, extension, and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore." And, in spite of all these declarations, the progress in primary education, as shown above, continued to be slow and halting—a phenomenon which requires some explanation.

As we look at the problem, the failure of Government to extend primary education was due to several wrong decisions on administrative and financial issues, among which the following may be mentioned:—

(*a*) Failure to introduce compulsory education;
(*b*) Transfer of primary education to the control of local bodies; and
(*c*) Neglect of the indigenous schools.

(*a*) *Failure to Introduce Compulsory Primary Education:* Although we cannot expect the Despatch of 1854 to accept the

principle of compulsory education because, at that time, it was not accepted even in England, there is hardly any justification for the official silence over the matter even so late as 1902. In England, compulsory education had been universally introduced under the Acts of 1870, 1876 and 1880. The Indian Education Commission (1882-83) at least should have raised the issue especially because several Indian witnesses before it did make a demand for compulsory education. But the Commission remained silent. An Indian Prince, Maharajah Sayajirao Gaekwar of Baroda, went so far ahead as to introduce compulsory education in one Division of his State, as an experimental measure, in 1893-94. Indian leaders like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah were already making a demand for compulsory primary education. But Government did not consider the issue at all until after 1902. The main argument advanced in favour of this policy was that the British Government was a *foreign* Government and hence could not *compel* the people to send their children to school—an action which an Indian Prince might take. It may, therefore, be concluded that the principle of compulsory education was not accepted by Government in India in the nineteenth century, mainly because of the lack of identification between Government and the people; and in the absence of compulsion, the progress of primary education continued to be unsatisfactory.

(*b*) *Transfer of Primary Education to the Control of Local Bodies:* The second reason for the slow advance of primary education was the transfer of its control to local bodies.

This transfer was due to several reasons. Firstly, there was the influence from England. As pointed out in section 8 *supra*, the transfer of primary education to the control of local bodies in India in 1884 was inspired by the Elementary Education Acts of England, 1870 and 1876. Secondly, the doctrine of State-withdrawal from direct educational enterprise which was first enunciated in 1854 and confirmed in 1882-3, also helped in the same direction. Private societies, missionary or Indian, asked for the transfer of secondary and collegiate education but none of them was prepared to bear the burden of conducting primary schools. If the State desired, therefore, to withdraw from direct enterprise in primary education, the only way to do so was to entrust it to the semi-official local bodies. Thirdly, political

considerations also came in. Reference has already been made to the discontent against British Rule and the demand for self-rule that was slowly gaining ground during this period. This demand had to be met by the transfer of some responsibility to Indians, by the grant of some form of *self-government*. It was, therefore, decided that local bodies be created, that Indians be given *self-government* in their management, and that primary education be transferred to these bodies as an innocuous and sufficiently rich field for the exercise of *Indian* administrative capacity. For these and other reasons, primary education became practically a *local* subject since 1884.

Now, there is nothing intrinsically wrong in such transfer. In fact, it would have been a great asset if the original directions of Lord Ripon in his Resolution on local self-government had been adhered to by later administrators. Lord Ripon had pointed out that the experiment would succeed only (*i*) if adequate resources were made available; (*ii*) if transfer of duties involving additional expenditure was simultaneously followed by transfer of additional and adequate resources; and (*iii*) if Government officers "set themselves to foster sedulously the small beginnings of the independent political life and came to realise that the system really opened to them fairer field for the exercise of administrative and directive energy than the more autocratic system which it superseded". But unfortunately these directions were forgotten very soon. Throughout this period (and even later on), the local bodies remained financially poor; they became the Cinderellas of the official hierarchy, and had to content themselves with the crumbs that fell from the Provincial Governments just as the Provincial Governments, in their turn, had to depend on the crumbs that fell from the tables of the Imperial Government. The transfer of such a costly responsibility as that of primary education ought to have been followed simultaneously by the transfer of sufficiently large resources to enable the local bodies to discharge that responsibility. But no such steps were taken. At least liberal grants-in-aid ought to have been given to local bodies. Even this was not done and Government grant, it was laid down, *was not to exceed* one-third of the total expenditure. Moreover, the proper guidance or training that the officials were expected to give to Indians in the management of local bodies did not generally become available. On the whole, therefore,

it may be concluded that the conditions laid down by Lord Ripon for the successful working of the experiment of local self-government were never fulfilled, and that primary education was transferred to organisations who had no adequate resources of their own and who were given absolutely inadequate grant-in-aid. It is to this failure to work out the experiment properly, rather than to any intrinsic error in the proposal itself, that we must attribute the adverse effect which the transfer to local control ultimately produced upon the expansion of primary education.

It is, however, worthy of note that, in spite of all their handicaps, the local bodies did substantial service to the cause of primary education. As shown already in the preceding section, their contribution to primary education rose from Rs. 24.9 lakhs in 1881-82 to Rs. 46.1 lakhs in 1901-02, while Government contribution increased, during the same period, from Rs. 16.77 lakhs to Rs. 16.92 lakhs only! This liberality of the local bodies saved the situation considerably. But it was only an *immediate* gain. The resources of the local bodies were so inelastic and limited that they could have never hoped to introduce compulsory primary education or even to have brought about any very large expansion of schools. They gave an initial push and tided somehow over hard times when Government funds were scanty. But with that their contribution to the cause came practically to an end, while their continuing to be mainly responsible for primary education led to *ultimate* disadvantages and held up all major lines of progress.

(*c*) *Neglect of Indigenous Schools:* The third cause of the slow advantage of primary education was the neglect of indigenous schools. Great results could easily have been obtained if all the funds that Government and local bodies allotted to primary education had been spent in developing indigenous schools. Instead of that, the indigenous schools were allowed to die;[1] and a new system of schools was created, *ab initio*, to take their place. This procedure involved a great waste of national energy, which could easily have been avoided. But the general attitude of contempt that the British officials had for all indigenous things made them oblivious to the advantages of the indigenous schools, and as shown before, they practically disappeared by 1901-02 and their loss was not even compensated by the new system of schools that was created in their stead.

20. **Other Achievements in Primary Education.** We have so far discussed only three aspects of primary education, *viz.*, attitude to indigenous schools, finance, and expansion which were isolated for special treatment because they are the most important aspects of the problem. It will be clear from the discussion that the record of official attempts in these respects was one of failure. We shall now turn to the *qualitative* aspects of primary education where, however, the official attempts *did* score a number of minor successes.

The main official achievements in this direction were the following:—

(*a*) *Construction of School Buildings:* As already stated in Chapter I, the indigenous schools had no buildings of their own. In England, where the inclemencies and uncertainties of weather are so great that a school cannot even start without a building of its own, the construction of school buildings was greatly emphasised and the first Parliamentary grants for education, it would be recalled, were given for buildings only. This emphasis was transferred to India also and the Education Departments spent large amounts in providing buildings for primary schools. The achievements were fairly satisfactory; but financial stringency always came in the way and it was not possible to provide independent buildings for *all* the new primary schools. A great majority of them still continued to be held—as were the indigenous schools—in temples, mosques, chavdis, and such other public buildings. The one old practice of indigenous schools that definitely ceased to exist was the holding of the school in the house of the teacher himself.

(*b*) *Improvement in the Training and Qualifications of Teachers:* Another significant achievement of the Victorian Era was the improvement brought about in the general education and training of primary teachers. As compared to the indigenous schools, the teachers of new schools were certainly better educated. A fairly large percentage of them were also professionally trained—an idea that was unknown to the indigenous system. In local board, municipal or Government schools, they were definitely better paid, but improvement in aided schools was not equally remarkable owing to the inadequate rates of grant-in-aid. Whether they were as zealous in the performance of their duty as the indigenous teachers whose whole life depended

on the progress of their pupils, it is difficult to say. But it is by no means uncommon in India to find that the quality of education in a good private school is often better than in a Government school in spite of the better staff and equipment of the latter. There has always been a certain loss in efficiency under *departmentalisation* and, in the new primary schools, it is quite probable that the advantages of the superior attainments of teachers were set off, to some extent, by the deterioration in their zeal and enthusiasm.

(*c*) *Admission of Girls and Pupils of Low-castes:* In the indigenous schools, there were very few girls and hardly any Harijan pupils. But the new primary schools contained a fair sprinkling of girls and Harijan pupils. This was a very significant and far reaching achievement of the new system of primary schools. The details of these developments will be discussed in the next chapter.

(*d*) *Use of Printed Books:* The indigenous schools, it would be recalled, used no printed books at all. The new system of education did very valuable service in preparing text-books, printing and publishing them and popularising their use in all schools. This reform, in spite of its undisputed advantages, met with some resistance in the early years; but by 1900, the use of printed books had been universalised in all primary schools.

(*e*) *Adoption of New Methods of Teaching :* Here, there were gains as well as losses. As shown in Chapter I, the monitorial system was introduced in England from India. A later development of this was the pupil-teacher system under which senior pupils were required to work as assistants to teachers in return for a small stipend and were later on absorbed in the profession and trained. Both these systems were in use in England for a considerable time and assisted the expansion of education by reducing its cost. They were abandoned as more funds became available and as efficient teachers could be provided without curtailing the pace of expansion. In India, on the other hand, these systems were abandoned soon after they were abandoned in England, although the prevailing financial stringency demanded their continuance. The result was an inevitable slowing down of the pace of expansion.

On the other hand, teaching in the new primary schools became more attractive generally on account of trained teachers and adoption of new techniques like kindergarten or object lessons in

the lower standards. The crude and harsh mode of punishments tended to disappear and a more humane treatment of the child began to be noticeable. The school equipment also improved and assisted in raising the standard of education. While this achievement was a definite gain, it was counterbalanced by a loss in another direction. The indigenous schools were so small in size that individual attention was given to each pupil. There were no standards and no fixed periodical examinations. Each pupil progressed at his own pace and left when he had acquired all he wanted to learn or the school had to teach. In the new schools, fixed standards were introduced; periodical examinations were held by Departmental officers for promotion from class to class. The size of classes was increased so that the individual attention paid to pupils became less and less. A certain amount of rigidity inevitably came in with these changes.

(*f*) *Curriculum:* Curricular changes were the result of a continuous adjustment between three conflicting forces: the first of these was the ambition of the Departmental officers who wanted to imitate the developments in England where subject after subject was being added to the curriculum; the second was a limiting factor, *viz.*, the capacity of the teacher to handle the ever-expanding curriculum; and the third was the desire of the average parent who demanded an instruction analogous to that of the indigenous schools with which he was familiar. This desire required a simplification of the curriculum and an emphasis on the three R's—a demand that ran directly contrary to the official desire to enrich and to expand. Ultimately, however, the officials had things in their own way and a richer and varied curriculum came to be adopted.

In 1901-02, the subjects included in the primary curriculum were Kindergarten, Drawing, Object Lessons, Geography, History, Singing and Recitation, Hygiene, Agriculture, Science, Second Language, Mensuration, Physical Exercises, and Manual Work. Some of these subjects were taught on an optional basis in certain provinces and in some, a few of the subjects were omitted altogether. But broadly speaking, it can be said that the primary curriculum of 1902 was far richer than that of the indigenous schools of a century earlier.

21. **The End of the Victorian Era.** We have now completed our survey of the development of education in India during the

Victorian Era. Superficially at any rate, the picture presented by the situation was satisfactory and both the British officials and the people had reason to be proud of their achievements. "Education in India under the British Government," says Howell, "was first ignored, then violently and successfully opposed, then conducted on a system now universally admitted to be erroneous and finally placed on its present footing."[1] By this *final placing* of the educational system on its *present footing* Howell refers to the ideals and methods advocated in the Despatch of 1854 which practically dominated the situation till 1901-02. As compared to the controversies and vacillations of the period before 1854, the achievements of the new educational system during the Victorian Era were undoubtedly good. The indigenous system was dead no doubt; but that bothered nobody and hardly any tears were wasted upon its disappearance. On the other hand, people could see a large expansion of English schools and colleges; the establishment of a fairly large network of primary schools which were qualitatively superior to the indigenous schools; the beginning of an Indian press and a renaissance in Indian life; the birth of a new literature in the modern Indian languages; the slow but steady progress in such difficult aspects of the problem as the education of women, of the Harijans, and of the aboriginal and hill tribes; the entry of Muslims in the modern type of schools. Even the Indian States had been stirred to activity and were generally following, although at a respectable distance, the lead given by British India. Official schools had multiplied considerably but several times greater had been the increase in schools and colleges of the modern type conducted by Indians themselves. On the whole, therefore, both the officials and the people had good reasons to be proud of their work and to look to the past with a feeling of satisfaction and achievement; and that is precisely what they generally did. This does not of course mean that there were no causes for complaint or suggestions of reform. Both of these existed in plenty; but the general feeling was that the principles and policies adopted so far were broadly sound and all that was needed was merely a question of time and funds.

Little did the complacent officials or non-officials of this period realise that they were sitting on a volcano. Under the

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, p. 2.

surface of general satisfaction and well-being, a regular storm had been brewing for some years past. Some officials and non-officials alike had begun to question the validity of policies which had been accepted as fundamental and worked upon with zest for more than half a century. The officials were disturbed by the growing political unrest which they attributed exclusively to modern education; Indians, on the other hand, were beginning to be worried by the slow progress of education and the manner in which India was losing her ground in the comity of nations. Both sides desired a change—although for entirely different reasons and in entirely different directions. So long as the *status quo* was being maintained, however, criticism was less active. But as soon as Lord Curzon broached the question of educational reconstruction in 1901, all the underground differences of opinion came to the surface, a storm of controversies burst forth with unprecedented violence resulting in titanic conflicts over certain educational issues. This struggle between the official and non-official viewpoints continued for nearly two decades and was only partially closed in 1921 with the transfer of control of education to elected Indian ministers. The history of this phase of the educational history of India, however, will be dealt with in the next two chapters.

Chapter Seven

LORD CURZON

(1898-1905)

1. **General Features of the Period (1902-21).** The period of about twenty years between the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission in 1902 and the transfer of education to Indian control in 1921 forms the fourth period in the history of modern Indian education. As compared with the Victorian Era, it presents several distinctive features among which may be mentioned (*a*) larger finances, (*b*) the more active role assumed by the State in education, (*c*) vigorous attempts at qualitative improvement made in all types of educational institutions, (*d*) unprecedented expansion in almost all branches of education, and (*e*) the growth of a militant nationalism among the people. Each of these features is so important and unique that it deserves some detailed examination.

(*a*) *Larger Finances Available for Education:* The Victorian Era, as we have seen, was a period of general financial stringency. But between 1902 and 1921, education had the good fortune to obtain much larger finances than it ever did in the earlier period. This was due to several reasons. Firstly, a good and stable system of financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments existed throughout the period. This encouraged better collection of revenue and greater vigilance in expenditure with the result that the resources of the Central and Provincial Governments improved considerably and enabled them to provide larger finances for education.

The second source of additional finance was that of *Central Grants to Education.* This was a period of boom in world finance and India shared in the general prosperity. Trade and commerce increased considerably and led to a great increase in Central revenues—an event which, in its turn, led to substantial surplu es in the central budgets. Between 1902 and 1921, there were only six deficit years (three of these, *viz.*, 1918-19 to 1920-21, were the years immediately following the First World War when the finances of Government were a little embarrassed)while in several

years, the surpluses were very large. The Government of India allocated a part of these surpluses to the Provincial Governments for expenditure on education. The earliest of these grants was sanctioned by Lord Curzon and the policy was kept up by his successors. Between 1902 and 1918-19, the grants amounted to about Rs. 500 lakhs non-recurring and about Rs. 300 lakhs recurring. It would be quite correct to say that such large *Central Grants* have been unknown in the history of Indian education, either before or since. These grants, more than any other single factor, were responsible for the great expansion and improvement of education that was now brought about; and it is these grants which distinguish this period so pleasantly from the earlier one of financial stringency.

The third reason for the larger finances that became available for education during this period was an all-round improvement in Provincial, local and private contributions to education. The finances of the Provincial Governments improved and hence they increased their contributions to education; the local boards and municipalities also shared in the general prosperity and assigned larger grants to education than before; the increase in the number of students (coupled, in some cases, with increases in fee rates) brought in a much larger income from fees; and the general awakening among the people was responsible for increasing the receipts under the miscellaneous head *endowments, donations, subscriptions*, etc.

It will thus be seen that this was a period when the total finance available for education increased very considerably. In round figures, the total expenditure on education from all sources, public or private, which was Rs. 401 lakhs only in 1901-02 increased to Rs. 1,837 lakhs in 1921-22.

(*b*) *More Active Role of the State:* Another distinctive feature of this period was the more active role assumed by the State. Prior to 1902, as shown in Chapter V, the State played only a minor role in education, the doctrine of State-withdrawal from direct educational enterprise held the field, and the State did little more than pay grant-in-aid to private institutions and, in return, exercise some kind of a control over them. This picture was entirely changed between 1902 and 1921. Under the lead given by Lord Curzon, the doctrine of State-withdrawal was officially abandoned and it was held to be the duty of the State

to maintain a few institutions of every type as *models* to private enterprise; the inspecting staff was strengthened and a vigilant policy of inspection and supervision of private schools was adopted in lieu of the old policy of *laissez-faire* The details of this important change will be described in later sections; but it is necessary to state here that, as a broad result of the new policy, the State began not only to play a more active role in education than it did in the past but also to claim the right to control private enterprise as rigidly as possible.

This change was due to several causes. The first was, as usual, the influence from England where the State had under the Balfour Act of 1902 begun to control private enterprise in elementary education more thoroughly than in the past. Secondly, the attempts made in England at this time to improve the quality of education made the Departmental officials in India feel that they too should make similar attempts and control private enterprise more strictly with a view to raising the standards. Thirdly, the growing political consciousness among the educated people made the British officials feel a little concerned. They had hoped that the men and women who came out of English schools and colleges would ever remain grateful and loyal to England for her services to India. But what they now found was that the average educated man became a discontented critic of British rule. This is not what they had bargained for and many of them adopted a panicky attitude towards these results and began to assert that the whole scheme of English education in India was wrong and those who subscribed to this view argued that private schools, especially those under Indian managements, were breeding sedition. They suggested, therefore, that Government should control them rigidly and improve their corporate discipline and the *character* of their students.

The desire for exercising greater control over private enterprise and to provide a more active role to the State in education was, therefore, only partly educational but mainly political. And for that very reason, it was vehemently opposed by all sections of nationalist Indian opinion. They really wanted the right to control educational policies; but if this were not to be had, they preferred to have a more or less incipient Department to one that was extremely active. If one had to be ruled over by an alien, a *king log*, they felt, was to be certainly preferred to

king stork. But the officials of this period tried to increase departmental control on the one hand and to make it more bureaucratic and less amenable to Indian opinion on the other. As Shri G. K. Gokhale put it, the official attempt to control private enterprise on the grounds of efficiency and *without* taking the educated Indians into confidence was aimed at perpetuating the *narrow, bigoted, and inexpansive rule of experts.* A conflict thus ensued between Government and the educated public. Government claimed the right to control all education rigidly in the interests of the people and on grounds of efficiency. The Indian public opinion, on the other hand, resisted the attempt at control on political grounds. It did not object to the more active role demanded of the State. But it claimed that such a change in the *role* of the State cannot be allowed unless and until the *character* of the State itself was changed from a bureaucracy to a democracy. As was only to be expected, the people ultimately won and in 1921, the control of the Education Departments in the Provinces was transferred to Indian ministers; and with this transfer, the long drawn out battle over the control issue lost its political character.

(*c*) *Efforts at Qualitative Improvements:* Between 1854 and 1902, the principal objective of educational policy had been expansion rather than improvement. It is true that several reforms and improvements had been carried out in these years; but they were always subordinate to the drive to increase the numbers and the assumption of official policy always was that *some* school was better than *no* school. But this outlook was entirely changed in the period 1902-21, the initiative in the matter again having been taken by Lord Curzon. It was now pointed out, on a survey of the educational results of the period between 1854 and 1902 that, during those years, education had not materially advanced in quantity but had definitely deteriorated in quality. It was this analysis of the educational position that made Curzon start a drive for qualitative reform. It is true that he did try to expand primary education. But even here he emphasized certain qualitative improvements and was not prepared to accept the principle of compulsory education which the Indian people had begun to demand. At the secondary and collegiate stage, Indian opinion demanded the widest possible expansion on voluntary basis; but here Curzon definitely preferred to curtail numbers and improve quality. On the whole,

therefore, the official view, as represented here by Lord Curzon, stood for quality rather than for quantity.

(*d*) *Unprecedented Expansion of Education:* In spite of this official predilection for quality, there was an all-round and unprecedented expansion of education in all branches between 1901-02 and 1921-22.

Progress of Education between 1901-02 *and* 1921-22

Type of Institution.	No. of Institutions.		No. of Scholars.	
	1901-02.	1921-22.	1901-02.	1921-22.
1. Universities ..	5	10	Figures not available.	Figures not available.
2. Arts Colleges ..	145	165	17,651	45,418
3. Professional Colleges ..	46	64	5,358	13,662
4. Secondary Schools ..	5,493	7,530	6,22,768	11,06,803
5. Primary Schools ..	97,854	1,55,017	32,04,336	61,09,752
6. Special Schools ..	1,084	3,344	36,380	120,925
Total for Recognised Institutions ..	1,04,627	1,66,130	38,86,493	73,96,560
7. Unrecognised Institutions ..	43,081	16,322	6,35,407	422,165
Grand Total ..	1,47,708	1,82,452	45,21,900	78,18,725

N.B.—The figures of 1901-02 include figures for Burma and some Indian States, while the figures of 1921-22 are for British India only exclusive of Burma.

This rapid expansion which originated under the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, was due to several causes. The most important of these were the great social and political awakening that was now created in the country as a result of the struggle for freedom, and the large financial resources that now became available for education. The improvement in quality was mainly an official achievement; but expansion was achieved by Indian enterprise,

sometimes with official support (particularly at the primary stage) but more often in defiance of their controls and even sabotage.

(*e*) *The Growth of a Militant Nationalism among the People*: As shown in Chapter VI, the spirit of nationalism was slowly growing between 1885 and 1902 under a surface of general loyalty to British Rule and was about to burst into a storm at the close of the nineteenth century. The Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon provided the immediate cause for this outburst. With all his great intellectual powers, infinite capacity for work, strong sense of duty, intense desire to serve the people of India and magnificent achievements in almost all fields of administration, Curzon nevertheless blundered into wounding the educated intelligentsia beyond hope of reconciliation. The reasons are not far to seek. He had a bad satirical vein and often spoke and wrote in a way that hurt the susceptibilities of people. For instance, he advocated the introduction of kindergarten methods and object lessons in primary schools as specially calculated 'to correct some of the *inherent* defects of the *Indian intellect*!'[1] In his Convocation Addresses at the Calcutta University, 1902 and 1905, he made several such offending remarks of which the following is a brief but typical example:—

> I hope I am making no false or arrogant claim when I say that the highest ideal of truth is to a large extent a Western conception. I do not thereby mean to claim that Europeans are universally or even generally truthful, still less do I mean that Asiatics deliberately or habitually deviate from the truth. The one proposition would be absurd, and the other insulting. But undoubtedly truth took a high place in the moral codes of the West before it had been similarly honoured in the East, where craftiness and diplomatic wile have always been held in much repute. We may prove it by the common innuendo that lurks in the words "Oriental diplomacy," by which is meant something rather tortuous and hypersubtle. The same may be seen in Oriental literature. In your epics truth will often be extolled as a virtue; but quite as often it is attended with some qualification, and very often praise is given to successful deception practised with honest aim.[2]

Remarks such as these which were derogatory to the nation as a whole could not be taken lying down and the intelligentsia protested. These protests made Curzon angry because he never really learnt to understand or tolerate opposition and he came out with still more sarcastic remarks which made the position worse than before. And so the battle went on till the educated

[1] *Government Resolution on Educational Policy* (1904), para. 20.

[2] *Lord Curzon in India*, Vol. II, p. 222.

classes of the country became irreconcilably opposed to him and developed a spirit of nationalism which militated against the British Rule itself.

It should not be supposed that the conflict between Curzon and the intelligentsia arose out of a wordy warfare only. The real issue at stake went far deeper. Curzon represented, not himself, but the whole bureaucracy that ruled India in the name of Parliament. It was, therefore, really a conflict between the British bureaucracy on the one hand and the educated Indian intelligentsia on the other, that was being staged now through all the controversies that arose over official policies. Both the sides knew that the battle would ultimately be decided by the *ignorant, illiterate and dumb* millions of India. The educated Indians claimed that they stood for and spoke in the name of these voiceless millions. Curzon denied this claim, and asserted that it was not the Indian intelligentsia but the British bureaucracy that spoke for the masses. He sincerely believed that the destinies of the Indian masses were entrusted by Providence to British hands and that British officials must continue to work in India for the good of the masses, almost for eternity. He also claimed (perhaps quite honestly according to *his* convictions) to have administered India for and in the interests of these masses. The educated Indians, of course, regarded this claim as most fantastic and they naturally repudiated this Curzonian assumption. They claimed that they alone had the right to speak for the Indian masses. But Curzon just pooh-poohed them. Speaking to graduates who might become journalists, he said:—

> Remember, when you use the editorial 'we,' that 'we' is, after all, only 'I,' and that the individual 'I' is only one among three hundred millions.[1]

He ridiculed journalists and politicians as persons who are incapable of action and who only talk and pass resolutions, and branded his educated adversaries as hunters of posts or seats on Councils and took pride in the fact that he saw no reason to satisfy their demands. On the whole, it may be said that, in the India of Lord Curzon's conception,

> there was no room for an Indian Intelligentsia aspiring to lead and speak for the masses; and in so far as the Indian educated classes claimed to be the prophets of what they themselves spoke of as "the new Nationalism" which was stirring in the land, he simply brushed them aside. The India which he pictured to himself was a land of vast spaces peopled by a patient and primitive peasantry, content to raise their crops and rear their cattle and to leave all other things to

[1]*Lord Curzon in India*, Vol. II, p. 218.

th e superior and, on the whole, beneficent Power to whom chance or Providence had entrusted them.[1]

It is no wonder that Curzon was not only the ablest but also the most-hated Viceroy that ever came to India.

We have dealt with these political developments a little in detail because they throw interesting light on some points in educational history. Firstly, they show why even the good measures of Curzon were misunderstood and therefore attacked by his contemporaries. These political controversies were inevitably carried into the educational field and officials and non-officials fought over questions of primary or higher education in more or less the same way in which they came into conflict over political issues. Secondly, they show why Curzon failed in his principal objective in India. He came to this country to strengthen the British Empire and even to make India a base for a further development of the Empire in Asia. But as the tragedy of history would have it, his utterances and actions gave immediate rise to a militant nationalism; the Indian National Congress became stronger than ever and under the leadership of persons like Dadabhai Naoroji, Tilak, C. R. Das, the Ali brothers, Gokhale and Annie Besant, carried on a national struggle that soon became irresistible. Consequently, history will describe Curzon as the Viceroy who made the biggest contribution to the weakening of the British rule in India. Thirdly, this new militant nationalism created a new attitude among the people towards several educational problems. For instance, it demanded early Indianisation of the Education Department; adoption of Indian languages as media of instruction ; the teaching of history from the *Indian* viewpoint as against that of the imperialist power; the development of a feeling of patriotism among the students of schools and colleges; and so on. These will be dealt with in detail in the next chapter under *national education*; it is enough to state here that the demand for *national education* which arose in this period was the result of a revolt against the intellectual domination of the West just as the new militant nationalism symbolised a revolt against the political power of Britain in India. Lastly, another historical tragedy is also revealed here. It was the British bureaucracy that had invented the Downward Filtration Theory and talked of creating a class of educated Indians who would act as

[1] Ronaldshay : *Life of Lord Curzon*, Vol. II, p. 419

intermediaries between them and the people and who would, in their turn, educate the masses. Though the theory was long in taking action, by 1902, such a class had been created and had begun to teach the masses. But it was exactly at this juncture that the bureaucracy became suddenly jealous, denied the representative character of this educated class and tried to throw it out by seeming directly to educate the masses and claiming their leadership. It is true that the bourgeois middle class who formed the bulk of the educated Indian intelligentsia of this period had no really solid claims to represent the masses; but they certainly had a better claim to do so than the British bureaucrats; and naturally they won.

2. **Issues in Educational Controversies.** This political conflict had its educational implications as well. Curzon and his successors believed that what Indian education needed most was *qualitative reform*. Their view may be briefly stated as follows:—

(*a*) The recommendations of the Indian Education Commission had outlived their utility. They were designed primarily to secure expansion of education through private effort and that object had already been secured.

(*b*) The policy of *laissez-faire* to private enterprise, which was recommended by the Commission and adopted by the Education Departments in later years, had brought in various evils; for instance, most of the institutions conducted by private agencies were inefficient, poorly staffed, and poorly equipped and were more in the nature of *coaching institutions* for examinations than *educational centres* in the proper sense of the word.

(*c*) The only remedy for these evils was to replace the policy of *laissez-faire* and expansion by one of control and improvement

(*d*) The recommendation of the Commission that Government should withdraw from direct educational enterprise was suicidal. Fortunately, it had never been acted upon and time had come when it must be officially abandoned. On the other hand, it was the duty of Government to mantain some institutions as models to private enterprise.

(*e*) As Indians can never have the same efficiency as Englishmen, all superior posts in the Education Department must continue to be held by the British people.

(*f*) Education in secondary schools and colleges was being infected by politics and standards of discipline were lowered. Politics must, therefore, be completely excluded from the schools.

(*g*) The standard of English should be raised still further.

On the other hand, Gokhale (and those who followed him) believed that the most crying need of India was *quantitative* advance. The view of this school of thought may be summarised as follows:—

(*a*) Indians challenged the wisdom of the policy which put quality first and quantity next. They pointed out that this policy might suit England where expansion of education was already complete, but that it had no place in India where expansion had not even begun in right earnest.

(*b*) The official desire to control and improve secondary and collegiate education was ascribed to political motives and it was said that the real motive was not the improvement of educational standards, but the sabotaging of the development of national feeling in the minds of educated Indians.

(*c*) The official attempt to expand primary education was generally appreciated, but it was felt that the rate of expansion visualised by the Education Departments was quite out of proportion to the needs of the situation. It was held that there must be a still greater expansion of secondary and collegiate education; and that in primary education, the principle of compulsion must be accepted.

(*d*) Complete and speedy Indianisation of the Education Department was demanded.

(*e*) Education, to be worthy of its name, must develop love for the mother-country and *not* loyalty to British Rule.

(*f*) Nationalist sentiment also revolted against the exaggerated importance attached to English and claimed that the modern Indian languages should be adopted as media of instruction.

It is obvious that the differences of opinion were fundamental and a conflict was inevitable. Had Lord Curzon and his advisers made an attempt to appreciate the Indian point of view and to meet it half-way, the history of education in India would have taken an entirely different turn. Lord Curzon, however, pushed forward his favourite plan of reform and thereby greatly alienated Indian public opinion. His policy was kept up by his successors as well, so that a conflict between the official and non-official points of view dominated the history of education during the period as a whole. The continuous and mostly fruitless struggles over several issues ultimately led Indians to think that real improvement in education was impossible unless they obtained the right to control educational policies. This feeling gathered strength as time passed, until it resulted ultimately in the transfer of the Education Department to Indian Ministers under the Government of India Act, 1919.

3. **The Indian Universities Commission (1902).** Curzon accorded the top priority in his programme to university reform because, according to him, the most strenuous efforts were needed at that stage. It was to help him in this task that he appointed, on 27th January, 1902, a Commission to inquire into the condition and prospects of the universities established in British India and to consider and report upon proposals for improving their constitution and working. The Commission submitted its report in the same year—a rather lengthy and highly technical document which does not require a detailed analysis and examination in this book. It will be sufficient for our purpose to note the following special features of this report :—

(*a*) The Commission adopted the model of the London University as modified by the Act of 1898. As the Calcutta University Commission points out—

In 1902 as in 1857, the policy of London seemed to be the latest word of educational statesmanship. There were four features of the London changes whose influence is directly perceptible in the Indian discussions. The first was the assertion that every university ought to be a teaching university. The second was the principle that no college should be allowed full privileges unless it was thoroughly well staffed and equipped. The third was the principle that teachers must always be intimately associated with the government of the

university. The fourth was the contention that the supreme governing body of the university—called, in London as in India, the Senate—ought not to be too large. Thus once again, as so often before, educational controversy in England had its echo in India.[1]

(*b*) Just as the Commission of 1882 was precluded from reporting on university reform this Commission was precluded from reporting on secondary education. The result was equally unhappy and the Commission could not deal with the problem as a whole.

(*c*) The fundamental problems before the Commission were two:—

(*i*) to determine the type of university organisation that should be ultimately developed in India; and

(*ii*) to propose such transitional arrangements as would enable the country to reach this predetermined goal in the shortest possible time.

It is to be regretted, however, that the Report of the Commission did not discuss these fundamental questions and, therefore, the Act of 1904 *did not aim at the fundamental reconstruction of the Indian University system.* It only proposed a rehabilitation and strengthening of the then existing system of affiliating universities.

(*d*) It would be recalled that affiliating universities were set up in India in 1857 just one year before affiliation, as the basis of university organisation, was abandoned in London. A similar tragedy took place in 1902 also. The report of the Indian Universities Commission submitted in 1902 does not contain, as pointed out above, any discussion of the fundamental problems of university organisation, presumably because they were not being then discussed in England. In the very next year, however, the disruption in the federal Victoria University of Northern England was followed by a great discussion of the principles of university administration and led to the abandoning of the federal type of universities. Perhaps India would have profited more had the Commission sat in 1907 instead of in 1902.

(*e*) The recommendations of the Commission refer mainly to the following five topics:—

(*i*) The reorganisation of university government.

(*ii*) A much more strict and systematic supervision of the colleges by the University, and the imposition of more exacting conditions of affiliation.

[1]*Report*, Vol. I, p. 65.

(*iii*) A much closer attention to the conditions under which students live and work.

(*iv*) The assumption of teaching functions by the University, within defined limits.

(*v*) Substantial changes in curricula, and in the methods of examination.

The third and the fifth of these groups of recommendations were necessarily left to be dealt with in detailed regulations to be framed by the reorganised universities. But the first, second and fourth groups of recommendations were embodied later in the Indian Universities Act, 1904, to which we shall now turn.

4. **The Indian Universities Act, 1904.** The *first* important change proposed by the Act was the enlargement of the functions of a University. Section 3 of the 1904 Act provided that

the University shall be and shall be deemed to have been incorporated for the purpose (among others) of making provision for the instruction of students, with power to appoint University Professors and Lecturers, to hold and manage educational endowments, to erect, equip and maintain University libraries, laboratories and museums, to make regulations relating to the residence and conduct of students, and to do all acts, consistent with the Act of Incorporation and this Act, which tend to the promotion of study and research.

The *second* important change proposed by the Act aimed at making the university senates of a manageable size. The Acts of Incorporation provided that Fellows of Universities were to be appointed by Government for life and did not lay down any upper limit to the number of Senators. During the fifty years that followed, Government did not always exercise this power of appointment in the best interests of the University with the result that the Senates became extremely unwieldy. The Indian Universities Act, 1904, proposed, therefore, that the number of Fellows of a University shall *not be less than fifty nor more than a hundred and that a Fellow should hold office for five years only instead of for life.*

The *third* change made by the Act was to introduce the principle of election. The Act of 1904 required that twenty Fellows should be elected at the three older Universities and fifteen at the other two.

The *fourth* change introduced by the Act was to give a statutory recognition to syndicates and also to give an adequate representation to university teachers on the syndicates concerned.

The *fifth* change introduced by the Act was to provide stricter conditions for the affiliation of colleges to a university and to provide that all affiliated colleges should be periodically inspected

by the Syndicate in order to see that a proper standard of efficiency is being maintained. Affiliation and disaffiliation of colleges now required the approval of Government.

The *sixth* change introduced by the Act was to vest in Government certain powers regarding the regulations to be framed by the Senate. Under the Acts of Incorporation, the sole authority for making regulations was the Senate and Government had only the power to veto inasmuch as all regulations had to obtain the approval of Government. The Indian Universities Act of 1904 provided that while approving the regulations framed by the Senate, Government may make such additions and alterations as may be necessary and even frame regulations itself should the Senate fail to do so within a specified period.

Lastly, the Act empowered the Governor-General-in-Council to define the territorial limits of the universities. This point was left moot in the Acts of 1857 with the result that certain anomalies crept in later on. For instance, some colleges were affiliated to two universities; some others were situated in the jurisdiction of one university but affiliated to another; and so on. Section 27 of the Act, therefore, laid down that "the Governor-General-in-Council may, by general or special order, define the territorial limits within which, and specify the colleges in respect of which, any powers conferred by or under the Act of Incorporation or this Act shall be exercised".

5. Indian Reactions to the Universities Act, 1904. The Indian public opinion violently opposed this Act, not because Indians were opposed to the idea of University reform as such, but because, with the background of distrust and uneasiness which was characteristic of this period, the proposals of Government were wrongly interpreted. It was believed that, under the pretext of reforms, Government was really trying to vest all power in the hands of European educationists, *i.e.*, the European professors in Government and Missionary colleges—with a view to sabotaging the development of Indian private enterprise in the field of higher education. The Indian opposition to the Universities Act of 1904 centred chiefly round five issues:—

Firstly, it was felt that the provisions which enabled the University to assume teaching functions would remain a dead-letter, as they had remained in the case of Allahabad, because the Act made no provision for financial assistance to Universities.

Secondly, Indian opinion welcomed the principle of election introduced by the Bill but pointed out that the seats thrown open to election were very few and that the Act failed to provide for election by professors who were just the class of persons who had more immediate interest than any other in the deliberations of the University.

Thirdly, while Indian opinion was not opposed to the idea of restricting the total number of Fellows in a University, a fear was expressed that the small numbers fixed by the Act—evidently inspired by the model of the reconstituted London University—were really intended to create a majority for Europeans in the constitution of Indian Universities.

Fourthly, the stricter provisions for affiliation of colleges were also strongly opposed. This was due to the fear that they were intended chiefly to embarrass Indian private effort in the field of education—a fear that was all the more strengthened by the idea that the reorganised university bodies will mostly consist of Europeans.

But the greatest opposition of all was directed against those aspects of the Act which gave more powers to Government in the administration of universities. These included the power to nominate most of the Fellows, the power to require approval for affiliation or disaffiliation of colleges, the power to alter, or even to frame regulations, etc. It was argued and quite rightly that under the new Act, the universities became practically a Department of the State.

6. Achievement of the Indian Universities Act of 1904. In the heat of bitter controversy about university reform that raged between the years 1902 and 1905, the importance of the Indian Universities Act of 1904 was greatly exaggerated by Government spokesmen who looked upon it as a panacea for all the ills of collegiate education while Indian public opinion misunderstood the Act and condemned it unequivocally as a retrograde measure. But the Act was neither one nor the other; and at this distance of time, it is possible to view dispassionately its achievements and failures.

The analysis of the Act given in an earlier section will show that it was primarily an administrative measure. Its avowed aim was to make the administration of universities more efficient than it had been hitherto and it must be admitted that it

succeeded considerably in this. The Senates of the reorganised universities were more manageable and efficient than earlier ones; and as the nominations made by Government belied the fears of the Indian public it was soon admitted on all hands that the Act had, on the whole, raised the tone of University administration.

Secondly, the stricter conditions of affiliation and the arrangements for periodical inspection made it difficult for new colleges to spring into existence and even led to the elimination of a number of weak institutions. It is, however, a significant fact that the growth of Indian private enterprise in the field of collegiate education was not affected adversely by the Indian Universities Act of 1904. If anything, the growth of colleges conducted by Indians was far more rapid after 1904 than before it. The fears of the opponents of the Act, therefore, proved to be groundless to a considerable extent. On the other hand, the hopes entertained by the framers of the Act that the strict conditions of affiliation would lead to an improvement in collegiate instruction were largely fulfilled. It is, of course, true that it was not the conditions, by themselves, that led to the improvement. Large increase in fee-receipts owing to the rise in the number of students coupled with the prescription of higher rates of fees, liberal grants-in-aid from Government, and considerable endowments from people were also the factors that materially contributed to this end. All the same, the salutary effect of the Act in initiating, maintaining or accelerating this upward trend in efficiency cannot be overlooked or underestimated.

Thirdly, the Act made the Government of India sanction the first grants to Indian universities. Prior to 1904, Government did not give any grants-in-aid to any university except the Punjab which received an annual grant of about Rs. 30,000 because it conducted the Oriental and Law Colleges. No grant was also felt to be necessary as the only items of expenditure in a university were a small office establishment and examinations. No money was spent even on the payment of travelling expenses of the Fellows who were expected to attend the meetings at their own cost. The total expenditure of a university, therefore, was easily met from the examination fees and often a surplus was left over.

Circumstances were changed by the Act of 1904. Meetings of the Senate and of the Syndicate were now more frequently held; the inspections of affiliated colleges had to be regularly

carried out; additional staff had to be entertained to cope with the heavy routine work created by the Act and the regulations; and above all, something had to be done by way of implementing the hopes that were created by Section 3 of the Act. All this meant additional expenditure—a circumstance to which attention had already been drawn by Gokhale in his speeches on the Bill. The Government of India announced, therefore, that they would make a grant of Rs. 5,00,000 a year for 5 years, for the improvement of collegiate education and universities. The first grant was sanctioned in 1904-05 and of the total amount of Rs. 25 lakhs so given, Rs. 11½ lakhs were allotted to universities for administration, inspection, travelling charges, the purchase of land and erection of buildings, and Rs. 13½ lakhs were given to Provincial Governments for improvement of colleges. Although the grant of Rs. 5,00,000 a year was originally meant for five years only, it was later made a permanent recurring grant and a sum of Rs. 1,35,000 out of it was assigned for university education and the remainder was assigned to collegiate education. This was but the beginning of a movement which has continued ever since and needless to say, the system of Government grants to universities which was started by Lord Curzon in 1904-05 has led ultimately to considerable improvement in higher education.

These three were the main achievements of the Act which are beyond all controversy. But in so far as the two sides to the conflict over the Indian Universities Act, 1904, were concerned, both have been proved to be wrong to some extent by the inexorable logic of history. The Indians who opposed the Act under certain apprehensions found that their fears were liars; that the Act did not sabotage Indian private enterprise; that it did not throw the monopoly of Indian education into European hands any more than what they already had; that some additional funds did come in to the universities so that the Act was not, after all, *all control and no funds*. This was, however, a pleasant disillusionment. Lord Curzon, on the other hand, must have felt very sad that his hopes were dupes and that a measure which he planned with such zest and carried through in the midst of such a storm, should fail him in most respects. He did indeed succeed in his plan of control and the Act created, in the words of the Sadler Commission, *the most completely governmental universities in the world.*

7. **Curzon's Reforms in Collegiate Education.** As a corollary to the reforms introduced in the universities, Government had to undertake reforms in collegiate education as well. Larger financial assistance had to be given to private colleges in order to enable them to come to the higher standard expected under the new university regulations and better provision had to be made for libraries, hostels and laboratories. Lord Curzon, therefore, assigned as already stated, a sum of Rs. 13½ lakhs to collegiate education as additional grants-in-aid between 1904-05 and 1908-09. The grant was divided amongst the provinces upon principles which took into account their population and the numbers of students in Arts colleges under private management. As in the case of the universities, these grants to collegiate education also materially assisted in improving the efficiency of colleges in general, and in particular, in making better provision of hostels and the teaching of sciences.

8. **Lord Curzon's Policy in Secondary Education.** By 1902, the problem of secondary education presented several features which were also common to that of collegiate education. In both, a large and a rapid expansion had been achieved between 1882 and 1902; private institutions conducted by Indians formed the largest single group in both the fields; and just as there existed a number of colleges which depended mostly on fees and throve rather as *coaching institutions* than as *centres of learning*, there were a number of secondary schools whose efficiency was far from satisfactory. It was, therefore, natural that Lord Curzon should adopt the same policy in secondary education as he had previously adopted in the field of collegiate education under the Indian Universities Act of 1904.

This new policy in secondary education which was put in practice during the years 1904-08 has been categorically stated in the Government Resolution on Educational Policy issued in 1904. It is necessary to analyse it fully and contrast it with the policy recommended by the Indian Education Commission in order to understand the events of this period in their proper perspective.

9. **Control of Private Enterprise.** The new policy in secondary education had two important aspects—*control* and *improvement*. With regard to the first of these, it may be stated

that Government tried to control private enterprise in a number of ways, the most important of which are noticed below:—

(*a*) *Recognition by the Department:* It had been the opinion of the Indian Education Commission that the Departments should only prescribe the conditions on which grant-in-aid would be paid to private schools and that managers who did not ask for aid (or did not obtain it) should be left free to develop their schools along their own lines. Between 1882 and 1902, therefore, the Departments laid down fairly comprehensive codes for the guidance of *aided* institutions, but did not make any serious attempt to regulate *unaided* schools. This view was given up and it was now argued that Government ought to control *all* private secondary schools, whether aided or unaided. The *Government Resolution* of 1904 explains this policy in the following words:—

> Whether these schools are managed by public authority or by private persons, and whether they received aid from public funds or not, the Government is bound in the interests of the community to see that the education provided in them is sound. It must, for example, satisfy itself in each case that a secondary school is actually wanted; that its financial stability is assured; that its managing body, where there is one, is properly constituted; that it teaches the proper subjects up to a proper standard; that due provision has been made for the instruction, health, recreation, and discipline of the pupils; that the teachers are suitable as regards character, number, and qualifications; and that the fees to be paid will not involve such competition with any existing schools as will be unfair and injurious to the interests of education. Such are the conditions upon which alone schools should be eligible to receive grants-in-aid or to send up pupils to compete for, or receive pupils in enjoyment of, Government scholarships; and schools complying with them will be ranked as 'recognised' schools.

A comparison of the above conditions of recognition with Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act of 1904 will show that they are practically the same as the conditions prescribed for the affiliation of colleges. These conditions were soon incorporated in the Provincial Codes of grant-in-aid, and since 1904, the Departments began to prescribe the conditions of *recognition* and not of *grant-in-aid* as had been the practice in the past.

(*b*) *Recognition by the Universities:* In addition to the recognition granted by the Department, secondary schools had to obtain recognition from a University if they desired to present pupils at the Matriculation examination conducted by that University. This could have been a great weapon of control; but

prior to 1904, it had little or no value in practice. The regulations on the subject were generally defective; and even such regulations as existed were often loosely administered; the Universities had no agency for the inspection of schools, and consequently had to depend on the information supplied by the schools themselves; and as the University and the Department worked independently of each other in matters of recognition, a conflict was not infrequent. Under the Indian Universities Act of 1904, however, regulations were framed by all universities for the recognition of schools. These regulations laid down the conditions which must be fulfilled by a *recognised* secondary school and closed the back-door by forbidding admission to the Matriculation of candidates from *unrecognised* schools. Similarly, regulations were also framed with a view to minimising the conflict between the Department and the University.

(*c*) *Privileges of Recognition and Enforcement of Conditions of Recognition:* As is quite well known, the mere prescription of conditions for recognition will hardly serve any purpose unless the privileges attached to recognition are so important as to make the schools desire it and unless an adequate machinery is created to enforce the conditions of recognition. Recognition by the University entitled a school to send pupils to the Matriculation. Similarly, it was now laid down that recognition from the Department will entitle a school to—(*i*) receive a grant-in-aid from Government; (*ii*) send up pupils for Government examinations or for the entrance examinations of Government Technical schools; and (*iii*) receive pupils holding Government scholarships. In order to encourage schools to seek for recognition by the Department and to enable them to come up to the higher standards that were now prescribed, Government decided to increase the grant-in-aid to private schools. Government also strengthened the inspecting staff for enforcing the conditions of recognition.

(*d*) *Prohibition of Transfers from Unrecognised to Recognised Schools:* A careful analysis of the privileges of recognition will show that schools would value departmental recognition for purposes of grants and university recognition for purposes of the Matriculation. But both these inducements would have had no effect on schools which did not receive, or hope for, a grant-in-aid (and hence did not mind recognition by the Department

being refused or withdrawn) or which did not teach up to the Matriculation (and hence did not come under the control of the University). As the number of such schools was fairly large, a method had to be devised for bringing them under control. This was done by prohibiting automatic transfers of pupils from unrecognised to recognised schools. As the Director of Public Instruction, Madras, observed:—

> The rule was quite effective for the purpose; it closed to the pupils of the unrecognised schools admission to a recognised school and consequently to the Matriculation and Upper Secondary Examination, and under present conditions no secondary school which does not lead to one or other of these examinations can hope to succeed.[1]

Unrecognised secondary schools could not have hoped to thrive, or even exist for long, in the face of this disability. Under the new system, recognition ceased to be a mere *advantage*; it became a *condition of existence* and enabled the Department to bring almost all the secondary schools under its effective control and supervision.

This new policy of control by the Department and University was criticized by Indian public opinion in much the same way in which the provisions of the Indian Universities Act were opposed. It was argued, for instance, that the attempt of Government to control private secondary schools was political in origin and was really intended to curb the growth of national feeling and private Indian enterprise. The political aspect of the problem need not be considered here. But even from the educational point of view, it would be difficult to justify the new policy in its entirety. It is, of course, true that the old policy of *laissez-faire* had outlived its utility, that it had often degenerated into licence, and that a more rigid control of private enterprise was generally needed. But all the same, the new policy swung the pendulum far too much to the other side. Control is necessary, and, within limits, highly beneficial. But it can be easily exercised in excess and can thus lead to a rigid, mechanical, and uniform system. This development was often noticeable in subsequent years and although, in certain cases, it may have arisen from other causes—such as lack of enterprise or initiative on the part of private entrepreneurs or lack of funds, —it could be traced largely to the rigid grant-in-aid codes of this period and their administration.

[1] *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1902-07, Vol. I, p. 71.

The *second* object of Lord Curzon's policy in secondary education was to improve the quality of instruction. With this end in view, he adopted the following measures:—

(*a*) Large grants were sanctioned to Provincial Governments in order to improve the efficiency of Government schools, so that they could serve as models to private enterprise. The additional amount thus made available was utilised in erecting buildings and hostels, improving the salaries of the staff and in purchasing necessary equipment, etc.

(*b*) Large funds were also sanctioned for increasing the grants-in-aid to private schools so as to enable them to come up to the standard of Government institutions.

(*c*) The necessity of training secondary teachers was emphasized and an impetus was given to the starting of new institutions for the purpose.

(*d*) Another, and a more vigorous, attempt was made to modify the curricula of the S. L. C. Examinations with a view to making them more useful and practical.

(*e*) It was recommended that the mother-tongue of the pupil should be invariably used as the medium of instruction at the middle stage. An attempt should also be made at this stage to give the pupil a better mastery over the English language than had been possible hitherto, so that he could make better progress in the High School stage, where English was the medium of instruction.

(*f*) The inspectorate was greatly strengthened, paid better and made more efficient so as to be able to exercise a rigorous control over secondary schools.

This policy was continued and developed more fully after Curzon. We shall, therefore, examine it in greater detail in the next chapter.

10. **Lord Curzon's Lead in Primary Education.** Turning to the field of primary education, we find that Curzon's policy was slightly different. In higher education, he emphasized *quality* as against *quantity*. But in primary education he emphasized *expansion* side by side with *improvement*. On the first of these issues, he held the view (*a*) that the need for expansion of primary education was greater then than at any time in the past;

(*b*) that the expansion of primary education had always been slow and that, if anything, the pace of expansion had become slower still since 1882; and (*c*) that the principal cause of the slow progress of primary education was the inadequacy of grants from Government funds. He, therefore, sanctioned large non-recurring grants to primary education in order to counteract the effects of plague and famine which affected most parts of the country towards the close of the nineteenth century. But what is even more important, he assigned large recurring grants to primary education which enabled the Provincial Governments to raise the rate of grant-in-aid to Local Boards and Municipalities from *one-third to one-half* of total expenditure and to pay better grants to private primary schools. This liberal policy at once led to a large increase in the number of primary schools and pupils. The following statistics compare the enrolment in primary schools for the years 1881-82, 1901-02 and 1911-12:—

——	1881-82.	1901-02.	1911-12.
1. Number of recognised primary schools	82,916	93,604	1,18,262
2. Number of scholars in above ..	20,61,541	30,76,671	48,06,736

N.B.—Figures of all years include some Indian States and exclude Burma. The year 1911-12 is taken because the full effect of Curzon's policy was noticeable only by this time.

It will be seen that the increase in the enrolment of primary schools in the ten years from 1901-02 to 1911-12 was nearly twice the increase in the enrolment during the twenty years following the report of the Indian Education Commission.

But wedded as he was to the doctrine of improvement, Curzon could not rest satisfied with mere increase in numbers. With a view to improving the quality of primary education, therefore, he recommended the following measures:—

(*a*) *Training of Primary Teachers:* Curzon emphasized the necessity of providing a larger number of training institutions for primary teachers, particularly in Bengal, where the percentage of trained teachers was low. He also directed that, as a rule, the total period of training should not be less than two years. But by far his greatest contribution to the subject was to emphasize the training of rural primary teachers in elementary agriculture which he desired to be taught in all rural primary schools which were mostly attended by the children of agriculturists.

(*b*) *Revision of Curricula:* Curzon emphasized the necessity of imparting a liberal education in primary schools which would go as much beyond the 3 R's as possible. He was not at all in favour of a move to simplify the curriculum which had been recommended by the Indian Education Commission. On the other hand, he desired an enrichment of the curriculum. Reference has already been made to his desire to include agriculture as a subject of study in primary schools, particularly in those situated in rural areas. Moreover, he desired that the teaching of object lessons and the adoption of Kindergarten methods should become more common, especially where competent teachers were available, "as calculated to correct some of the inherent defects of the Indian intellect, to discourage exclusive reliance on the memory, and to develop a capacity for reasoning from observed facts". Physical exercise was another subject which he desired to be made universal. But his most significant contribution to the curriculum problem was the view that the curricula of rural primary schools should be different from those of the urban ones and that the instruction in a rural primary school ought to be integrally related to the local environment. Curzon was aware that these qualitative reforms in primary education would involve a revision of the pay of primary teachers which varied greatly (from Rs. 5 p.m. in Bengal to about Rs. 18 p.m. in Bombay) and which was often too low to attract or retain a satisfactory class of persons in the profession. But he could not achieve much in this direction, partly for lack of time and partly for lack of funds. Consequently, the projected reforms of quality did not materialise appreciably, while the expansion he had aimed at soon became a *fait accompli*.

(*c*) *Abandoning of the System of Payment by Results:* Consequent upon the recommendation of the Indian Education Commission, the system of payment by results was universally adopted, between 1882 and 1902, as a means (though not the only means) of assessing grants to private schools. In Madras and Bombay, well-managed primary schools were aided on a system of fixed grants; but the number of schools so aided was extremely small as compared with those aided on the system of payment by results. In Bengal, the result grant reigned supreme, while in the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, and Assam, the result grant was only a part of the annual grant to the school, the remaining being either fixed or dependent upon

other tests. But in accordance with the policy of Lord Curzon, the system of payment by results was universally abandoned and replaced by more scientific and advanced methods of grant-in-aid.

11. **Other Educational Reforms of Lord Curzon.** Lord Curzon carried out several important reforms some of which have been noticed below:—

(*a*) *Schools of Art:* The name of Lord Curzon is connected with the reforms of the Schools of Art, the great impetus given by him to the growth of agricultural education and with the institution of scholarships for technological studies abroad. Ever since 1893, controversies were going on regarding the future of Art schools in India. There was a section of opinion which believed that these schools had failed in their primary object of promoting Indian arts and industries and should, therefore, be closed. There was another section which recommended that they should be continued with certain modifications. This controversy was closed by Lord Curzon who directed that the schools should be continued with certain modifications in their objects, methods and organisation.

(*b*) *Agricultural education* had hardly developed in India before the days of Lord Curzon. There were a few Agricultural Colleges but they had not proved much of a success, either in theory or in practice, because they had neither produced scientific experts nor succeeded in producing practical agriculturists. Lord Curzon enunciated a new and bold policy in this respect. It was under him that the Agricultural Departments came to be organised. He also created a Central Research Institute at Pusa with the object of giving the highest training in agriculture in India itself; *secondly*, he laid down the principle that every important province in India must have its own Agricultural College which should be properly staffed and equipped; *thirdly*, he directed that an attempt should be made to broadcast agricultural education among the people by introducing agriculture as a subject at the Middle and High School stage and by conducting special classes for the training of agriculturists.

(*c*) *Foreign Scholarships:* The third achievement of Lord Curzon was to institute scholarships for sending Indian students for technological studies abroad. The necessity of technological education had long been felt; but the number of students, likely to be attracted to technological institutions, was so small that

it was not considered economic to organise them in India. Lord Curzon, therefore, instituted scholarships to be given to selected students to enable them to pursue technological studies abroad. The courses selected for the purpose were generally such as would be of material use in developing Indian Industries.

(*d*) *Moral Education:* The question of religious education was discussed again at the Simla Conference. That the State schools should remain secular was so established a tradition now that it was not challenged at all. On the other hand, the suggestion made by the Indian Education Commission, 1882-83 to the effect that a *moral primer or text-book* should be prescribed in colleges was also brushed aside as inadequate. 'If pupils can cram Euclid', said Curzon, 'there is nothing to prevent them from cramming ethics'.[1] The Conference, therefore, took up the consideration of a very practical issue, *viz.*, how moral and spiritual values can be realised in an educational system that is bound to be secular. The views of Curzon's administration on this topic were very sound and deserve a careful study. In his *Resolution on Educational Policy* (1904), he said:—

25.....In Government institutions the instruction is, and must continue to be, exclusively secular. In such cases the remedy for the evil tendencies noticed above is to be sought, not so much in any formal methods of teaching conduct by means of moral text-books or primers of personal ethics, as in the influence of carefully selected and trained teachers, the maintenance of a high standard of discipline, the institution of well-managed hostels, the proper selection of text-books, such as biographies, which teach by example, and above all in the association of teachers and pupils in the common interests of their daily life.

On the other hand, Curzon believed that aided schools should preferably give religious education.

(*e*) *Creation of the Department of Archæology:* A really great contribution of Curzon to India was the creation of the Department of Archæology. He found that the ancient monuments in India were not properly being cared for and, therefore, created a special department for the purpose. He was also responsible for passing the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904. This was a very valuable piece of work and the Department has done yeoman service to Indian culture by its archæological studies and by the efficient preservation of all important ancient monuments.

(*f*) *Appointment of a Director-General of Education in India:* One of the greatest contributions of Curzon was to create the post of a Director-General of Education in India. The first

[1] *Lord Curzon in India*, Vol. II, p. 54.

official to hold it was H. W. Orange. The Despatch of 1854, it will be recalled, created Departments of Education in the Provinces; the credit of creating the first nucleus of such a Department in the Government of India goes to Curzon.

12. **Curzon's Contribution to Indian Education.** We are now in a position to estimate Curzon's contribution to Indian education. In his own time, Curzon came in for very bitter criticism, for reasons already explained. But fortunately, we are no longer blinded by the controversies of this period. With her characteristic catholicity of heart, India has forgiven the insults which Curzon directed at her patriotic children, just as she forgave the vilifications of Charles Grant or Macaulay; and now that we can see the scene more clearly, it is possible to evaluate Curzon's work in an objective and critical manner. In fact, the tide has already turned and the commonest sentiment towards him in educational circles today is one of appreciation and understanding. Curzon, it is now admitted, did yeoman service to the cause of education. He was the author of the great movement for educational reconstruction which started in the beginning of this century. He laid the foundation of the reform of Indian universities which gathered such momentum in later years; his attempts to raise the standards in higher education did considerably useful service. In primary education, it was he who started a drive for expansion, although his successors did not keep it up. Agricultural education received a tremendous impetus at his hands and he was the founder of the Department of Archæology in India. It was he who started the movements for Central responsibility in educational finance and the creation of an Education Department in the Government of India. He was also responsible for greatly encouraging the study of the modern Indian languages. In short, it may be said of Curzon that he touched almost every aspect of Indian education and touched nothing that he did not reform. Today, it is these services that India remembers and *not* his high-handed political policies. As Professor Amarnath Jha put it:—

> Now that the ashes of the numerous strifes are cold, all Indians are grateful to the wise statesmanship of the great Viceroy who did so much to preserve our ancient monuments and raise our educational standards. By these achievements he still lives, and generations of Indians will bless him for them.[1]

[1]Ronaldshay: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 390.

CHAPTER EIGHT

A PERIOD OF TRANSITION

(1905—21)

Lord Curzon left India in 1905; and in order to lull the storms created by his administration, certain of his policies were reversed by later Viceroys. For instance, his partition of Bengal was undone in deference to popular opinion; the educated intelligentsia began to receive more sympathetic and respectful treatment at the hands of the bureaucracy; and although Curzon had consistently refused to make concessions to educated Indians by giving them seats in Councils, his successor was farsighted enough to introduce the well-known *Morley-Minto* Reforms of 1909 under which a much greater representation in Legislative Councils was vouchsafed to the Indian people than at any time in the past. But in so far as education is concerned, hardly any of Curzon's policies were abandoned; in fact, most of them were continued with even greater zeal than that of Curzon himself. Consequently, the period between 1905, when Curzon left India, and 1921 when the Education Department was transferred to Indian control, may really be described as a period of transition in which the policies laid down by Curzon were being worked out in a resolute and zealous manner. The Indian public, of course, continued to oppose them. But the opposition could never reach the magnitude of the struggle over the Indian Universities Bill, except probably in the discussion over Gokhale's bill for compulsory education. This lessening of the violence of opposition was due to several reasons such as (*a*) the generally sympathetic attitude now adopted by Government as opposed to Curzon's insolence; (*b*) the official acceptance of some of the views of the opposition; (*c*) the ever-increasing absorption of public attention in politics which left little time for educational reform; and (*d*) the organisation of the schemes of national education without any reference to the official machinery. But despite this lowering down of the tempo of the opposition the major conflicts between official and non-official policies in education continued to be substantially the same even after the departure of Lord Curzon. The events of the period 1905 to 1921

can, therefore, be conveniently studied against the background of Curzon's plans of educational reconstruction in India.

2. Government Resolution on Educational Policy (1913): University Education. It did not take long for people to recognise that the Indian Universities Act, 1904, could not achieve much; while conserving the work done by the Act, therefore, it was felt equally necessary to broaden the policy of Government in the matter of university education. This movement was also considerably strengthened through influences from England. The period of 1903-13 is of great importance in the history of British Universities. During this period, the fundamental problems of University organisation were brought under review in England and expert opinion came to the conclusion that the federal type of university was not satisfactory because it was difficult to work and not conducive to rapid progress. The federal type of organisation was, therefore, abandoned by about 1913 and most British Universities were reconstituted (wherever necessary) as unitary, teaching and residential organisations. These developments had their echo in India also and Government had, therefore, to review the question almost within a decade of the passing of the Universities Act of 1904. This was done in the Government Resolution on Educational Policy, dated 21st February, 1913, which declared that a university would be established for each Province, that teaching activities of universities would be encouraged, and that the colleges located in mofussil towns would be developed into teaching universities in due course. But no action along the lines indicated herein was taken by Government partly because it was believed that an expert enquiry into the question was essential before any definite steps could be taken and partly because of the outbreak of the Great World War.

3. The Calcutta University Commission (1917-19). In 1917, Government appointed the Calcutta University Commission to study and report on the problem. This is also known as the *Sadler Commission* from its President, Dr. (later Sir) M. E. Sadler, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds. The other members of the Commission were Dr. Gregory, Mr. (later Sir) Philip Hartog, Professor Ramsay Muir, Sir Asutosh Mookerji, the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, and Dr. (later Sir) Zia-ud-din Ahmad. The report of the Commission is a document of inter-provincial importance. Although it deals with

the Calcutta University only, the problems that it has studied are more or less common to the other Indian universities. Hence, the report of the Commission had far-reaching consequences upon the development of university education in India as a whole.

The main recommendations of the Commission have been noticed below:—

(*a*) We have seen that the Commissions of 1882 and 1902 could not do full justice to the subject of higher education because the first was precluded from reporting on the universities and the second was precluded from studying the problems of secondary education. The Calcutta University Commission, on the other hand, studied the problems of secondary education as well as those of university teaching because it held the view that improvement of secondary education was an essential foundation for the improvement of university teaching itself. The Commission, therefore, made radical recommendations regarding the re-organisation of secondary schools. These may be briefly stated as under:—

(*i*) The dividing line between the university and secondary courses is more properly drawn at the Intermediate examination than at the Matriculation.

(*ii*) Government should, therefore, create a new type of institutions called the *Intermediate Colleges* which would provide for instruction in Arts, Science, Medicine, Engineering, Teaching, etc. These colleges might either be run as independent institutions or might be attached to selected high schools.

(*iii*) The admission test for universities should be the passing of the Intermediate examination.

(*iv*) A Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education consisting of the representatives of Government, University, High Schools, and Intermediate Colleges should be established and entrusted with the administration and control of secondary education.

The fate of this proposal will be discussed in Chapter IX.

(*b*) The Commission came to the conclusion that the numbers of colleges and students under the Calcutta University were too great to be dealt with by a single organisation. The Commission, therefore, recommended that—

(*i*) a unitary teaching university should be established immediately at Dacca;

(*ii*) the teaching resources of the Calcutta City should be pooled together with a view to the establishment of a teaching university at Calcutta; and

(*iii*) the colleges in the mofussil should be so developed as to make it possible to encourage the gradual rise of new university centres by the concentration of resources for higher teaching at a few points.

The first recommendation was carried out in 1920. The second and third recommendations have yet remained a pious hope.

(*c*) The Commission made the following general recommendations regarding University work:—

(*i*) The regulations governing the work of the universities should be made less rigid;

(*ii*) Honours courses, as distinct from pass courses, should be instituted in the universities in order to make provision for the needs of abler students;

(*iii*) The duration of the degree course should be three years after the intermediate stage;

(*iv*) Appointments to professorships and readerships should be made by special selection committees, including external experts;

(*v*) Having regard to the comparatively backward condition of the Muslim community in regard to education, every reasonable means should be taken to encourage Muslim students and to safeguard their interests;

(*vi*) In view of the necessity for paying greater attention to the health and physical welfare of students, a Director of Physical Training, holding the rank and salary of a professor, should be appointed in each university; a Board of Students' Welfare, including medical representatives, should be one of the standing boards or committees of each university; and special efforts should be made to supervise the conditions of students' residence.

(*d*) On several other questions, the Commission made important recommendations some of which are summarised below:—

(*i*) *Female Education.*—Purdah schools should be organised for Hindu and Muslim girls whose parents are willing to extend their education to 15 or 16 ; a Special Board of Women's Education should be established in the Calcutta University and should be empowered to propose special courses of study more particularly suited for women, and to organise co-operative arrangements for teaching in the women's colleges, more particularly for the training of teachers, and in preparation for medical courses.

(*ii*) *Training of Teachers.*—The output of trained teachers should be substantially increased; Departments of Education should be created in the Universities of Dacca and Calcutta; Education should be included as a subject for the Intermediate, B.A. and M.A. degree examinations.

(*iii*) *Technology.*—It is an important and, indeed, a necessary function of a university to include applied science and technology in its courses and to recognise their systematic and practical study by degrees and diplomas.

(*iv*) *Professional and Vocational Training.*—The Universities must make provision for the efficient training of personnel needed for the industrial development of the country.

4. Creation of New Universities. The Government Resolution on Educational Policy dated 21st February, 1913, and the report of the Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19, led to the creation of a large number of new universities in the period

1917-22. It may be noted here that, after the incorporation of the Allahabad University in 1887, no new university was established in India till 1916, and that during these 30 years there had occurred a tremendous rise in the number of colleges and of students attending them. The work of the existing universities had, therefore, increased considerably. The decision to start several new universities was, therefore, a wise, if a belated, move. It was further strengthened by the desire of the people themselves to have a larger number of universities and to found teaching and residential universities wherever possible. The result of this joint effort was that the number of universities in India increased from five in 1916 to twelve[1] in 1921-22! The following brief notes are offered here on the new universities so created:—

(a) *MYSORE.*—A university of the affiliating type was established at Mysore in 1916 for the area of the State itself. The incorporation of this university led to a considerable dimunition in the work done by the Madras University.

(b) *PATNA.*—A university was established at Patna in 1917 for the Province of Bihar and Orissa. This university was generally modelled on the older universities but its constitution showed certain deviations from the model of 1904. It is interesting to note these deviations because they show how Government had to yield finally to the demands of Indian public opinion which had been summarily ignored in 1904.

An important deviation from the provisions of the Act of 1904 is that whereby Government is deprived of its independent judgment regarding affiliation and disaffiliation of colleges and its power of final decision is limited to those cases which have been forwarded with the approval of the Syndicate and the Senate. The powers of Government are curtailed in other ways also and popular control is increased. It is not expressly stated that the Vice-Chancellor shall be a whole-time officer of the university (though the first Vice-Chancellor does fulfil this condition). The nominated element in the Senate is cut down to a maximum of 25 members and the elected element raised to a maximum of 50. In addition to the registered graduates, new electorates have been introduced—the teaching staff of colleges, graduate teachers of schools, associations and public bodies. The Syndicate contains four *ex-officio* members and 14 elected by the Senate, of whom at least seven must be on the staff of the university or the colleges. Hence, while it will be preponderatingly professorial (the *ex-officio* members being the Vice-Chancellor, the Director and the principals of the two chief colleges) the nominated element is eliminated from the Syndicate.[2]

[1]The University of Delhi has been excluded. Its Act of Incorporation was passed in March 1922, but it was enforced from May 1922. The history of this University is, therefore, treated in Chapter XI as part of the next period.

[2]*Quinquennial Review* (1912-17), Vol. I, p. 69.

(*c*) *BANARAS*.—A teaching and residential university was established at Banaras by an Act of 1915 and began its operations in 1917. This university is known popularly as the Banaras Hindu University, and owes its existence to the great work of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

(*d*) *ALIGARH*.—Similar in objects is the Muslim University at Aligarh which was established in 1920. This university stands in the same relation to the Muslims as the Banaras University does to the Hindus. It grew out of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh whose history was narrated in Chapter V. The university is a living memorial to the great work of the late Sir Syed Ahmed.

Both these denominational universities are directly under the Government of India. It must also be noted that both the Universities are open to students of all castes and creeds.

(*e*) *DACCA*.—A unitary, teaching, and residential university was established at Dacca in 1920.

(*f*) *LUCKNOW*.—A university was established at Lucknow in 1920. Its constitution and organization closely follow the model recommended by the Calcutta University Commission.

(*g*) *OSMANIA*.—The Osmania University was established at Hyderabad (Deccan) by H.E.H. the Nizam in 1918. It holds a unique place among the universities of India because the medium of instruction in the university is Urdu and not English.

In addition to the incorporation of the seven universities mentioned above, Government also reconstituted the Allahabad University on the Dacca model in 1921, with this important difference that in addition to the teaching and residential side, the Allahabad University also had an external side comprising a number of colleges situated in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Central India and Rajputana. These colleges were formerly *affiliated* to the University; but under the Act of 1921 they came to be known as *associated* colleges.

5. **Financial Assistance to Universities (1905-21).** Lord Curzon, as already stated, sanctioned a grant of Rs. 5 lakhs a year for universities and collegiate education, for a period of 5 years only in the first instance. This grant was later on made a permanent recurring grant and a sum of Rs. 1,35,000 out of

it was assigned for university education. Over and above this, Government, in 1911-12, sanctioned a non-recurring grant of Rs. 16,00,000 and a recurring grant of Rs. 2,55,000 for university education. This policy of liberal financial assistance was continued in the quinquennium of 1912-17, when non-recurring grants to the tune of Rs. 43 lakhs were sanctioned. Moreover, the recurring grant paid to the Calcutta University for the Minto Chair of Economics since 1910 was raised from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 13,000 in 1913. A grant of Rs. 12,000 a year was also sanctioned in 1914-15 to the Bombay University for instituting a Chair of Economics and Sociology. Annual recurring grants of Rs. 1,00,000 each were sanctioned for the Banaras and Aligarh Universities. Large non-recurring grants were also sanctioned for the newly created universities. It may be pointed out that in 1900-01, the only Government grant to universities was that of Rs. 29,380 paid to the Punjab University and the total expenditure of the universities was Rs. 7,21,000. But in 1921-22, Government grant to universities rose to Rs. 20,54,000 and their total expenditure to Rs. 74,13,000.

6. **Teaching Work done by the Universities (1905-21).** As may be easily anticipated, the large financial resources which the universities came to possess due to Government grants and improvement in the revenue from other sources, not only enabled them to erect buildings and maintain or expand libraries and laboratories, but also to undertake teaching activities. Of the twelve Indian universities that existed in 1921, five were purely teaching universities. The University of Allahabad, as has been pointed out above, was a teaching as well as an affiliating university. The remaining six universities were mainly of an affiliating type although they undertook some teaching work also.

This teaching work of the affiliating universities took one or more of the following three forms: —

(*a*) organization of special series of lectures by eminent men of learning, invited to visit the university from other parts of India or from abroad, or

(*b*) institution of university chairs in certain subjects, or

(*c*) the establishment of honours schools or post-graduate classes directly conducted by the university.

The delivery of courses of lectures by distinguished scholars was a particular feature of the work of the Calcutta, Madras and Punjab Universities. Chairs in various subjects such as Sociology, History, Economics, etc., were also established by several Indian universities. The Punjab University organized the system of Honours Schools in which the teaching was controlled by a whole-time officer of the university entitled *the Dean of University Instruction* and where an attempt was made "to give an improved type of instruction, with some personal contact between teacher and pupil and lesser recourse to lectures and text-books, to the abler minority among the students in the belief that this improved teaching, though in the first instance limited to a minority, will in the long run react on the spirit and methods of teaching throughout affiliated colleges of the University".[1] Similarly, the Calcutta University organized a post-graduate department and took over to itself all teaching for the M.A. except in a few colleges in the mofussil.

It is now acknowledged on all hands that the best type of university organization is that of a unitary, teaching and residential university and that the efforts of Government as well as of the public must be directed to the creation of as many universities of this type as possible. But in a vast and poor country like India, the creation of new residential and teaching universities cannot be very rapid; and the affiliating type of university will be indispensable for a long time to come. Indeed, there are many who believe that in this land of distances and poverty, the affiliating university can never be dispensed with. Be that as it may, the teaching work that was undertaken by the affiliating Indian universities at this period was certainly a hopeful sign. Although it could not be a substitute for a unitary teaching university, it had an undoubted value in improving the tone of instruction in the affiliated colleges.

7. **Development of Colleges of General Education between 1905 and 1921.** This period, as we saw in the last chapter, began with a movement for the reform of collegiate education with the passing of the Indian Universities Act of 1904. We have also seen how the strict conditions of affiliation imposed by this Act made it difficult for new colleges to come into existence and how they even led to the elimination of a number of existing ones.

[1] *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India* ,1917-22, p. 62.

In spite of this handicap, however, the number of students at the University stage increased very rapidly during the first two decades of this century. For example, in 1901-02, the total number of students reading in 138[1] colleges (out of the total of 168 in the whole of India) was stated to be 17,000. In 1921-22 the number of students reading in the colleges of general education in British India only was 45,418 and that of students reading in the colleges of India as a whole was 54,473; in other words, the number of students going in for the Arts and Science courses of the Indian Universities increased by over 200 per cent in twenty years.

This was due to the same causes that led to expansion of collegiate education in the nineteenth century but with a different emphasis. As we have seen, the securing of a good post under Government was, in the last century, the most powerful motive for entering a university. At that time, the out-turn of graduates was small and almost every holder of a university degree obtained employment under Government. By 1902, the situation had materially altered. The out-turn of graduates was now considerably greater and it was no longer easy for the holder of a university degree to secure a post under Government. By 1921, the spectre of *educated unemployment* had already raised its ugly head in the field of collegiate education. Hence the desire to obtain employment under Government was no longer the most important cause of the expansion of collegiate education. *On the other hand, a large number of students were now driven to colleges of general education merely for a lack of alternative openings.* The provision of alternative vocational courses at the upper secondary stage was extremely inadequate; the professional colleges were few and had limited accommodation; and the industries of the country were not developed. Consequently, very few openings in trade or industry were available for qualified young men, and an ever-increasing number of pupils in secondary schools was driven to the Matriculation in the first instance and thence to the Arts and Science Colleges of the universities. This aimless increase in the number of students in colleges of general education was, therefore, more a sign of disease than of robust growth.

[1] The 30 colleges excluded mostly belong to Indian States. For details *vide Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1897-1902, Vol. I, para. 200. (We have excluded the figures for Burma also.)

Another notable feature of this period was the great improvement that was brought about in the standard of collegiate education. The colleges of this period were generally better staffed, better equipped, and better housed than those of the earlier period. As stated in the last chapter, this was partly due to the stricter conditions of affiliation imposed by the Act of 1904. The main cause, however, was the improvement in the finances of collegiate institutions due to increased receipts by way of fees, more endowments and subscriptions, and larger grants from Government.

The most important source of revenue to the colleges is that of fees. During the period under review, there was a considerable increase in the income from this source partly because of the raising of fees and partly because of the increase in the number of students. In 1901-02, the incidence of fees per student was Rs. 57 per annum whereas it rose to Rs. 84 per annum in 1921-22. Secondly, the average strength of the college which was 123 in 1901-02 increased to 263 in 1921-22. The combined effects of these causes led to an increase in the income from fees thus enabling the managers to take effective steps to improve their institutions.

Similarly, the income from endowments and subscriptions increased considerably during the period under review and Government also came forward with larger grants. A grant of Rs. 5 lakhs a year was sanctioned by the Government of India from 1905 onwards for the improvement of the universities. Out of this a sum of Rs. 13½ lakhs was devoted to the improvement of collegiate education in the first five years. The grant was then made a permanent recurring grant and out of it a sum of Rs. 3,65,000 a year was earmarked for collegiate education. In the quinquennium of 1907-1912, a further recurring grant of Rs. 2.45 lakhs was sanctioned by the Government of India for improvement of colleges. Moreover, Government gave large non-recurring grants, particularly for the construction of hostels. Another recurring grant of Rs. 2.84 lakhs was made in the next quinquennium. In 1921-22, the total Government expenditure on collegiate institutions of general education was Rs. 49.26 lakhs, of which an amount of Rs. 15.28 lakhs was given as grant-in-aid to private colleges.[1]

[1]Figures for Arts, Science and Oriental Colleges in British India only. (Figures for Burma are included.)

It must also be noted that, by 1921-22, the system of collegiate education developed some serious defects and became *top-heavy, predominantly literary, and unhelpful for the industrial and commercial regeneration of the country.* This result was the logical conclusion of some aspects of the policy outlined in the Despatch of 1854, *viz.*, (*a*) the spread of Western knowledge and science, (*b*) the training of Indians in such professions as will make them good employees of Government, and (*c*) the development of a system which will make India the supplier of raw materials to, and the purchaser of the finished products of, British industries. Perhaps the best comment on these defects can be found in the following passage from the report of the Calcutta University Commission. The figures quoted in the extract are of 1917 and of Bengal only. But the picture they present is true of India as a whole:—

One of the most remarkable features in the recent history of Bengal, and indeed, of India, has been the very rapid increase in the number of university students which has taken place during the last two decades, and more especially since the Universities Act of 1904. In 1904, 2,430 candidates presented themselves for the intermediate examination of the University of Madras, 457 for that of Bombay, and 3,832 for that of Calcutta. These numbers in themselves were striking enough, considering that the universities were in 1904 less than fifty years old. But the numbers in 1917 were 5,424 for Madras, 1,281 for Bombay, and no less than 8,020 for Calcutta. This means that while the increase in numbers has everywhere been striking, it has been much greater in Bengal than in any other part of India; nor is it easy to find any parallel to it in any part of the world. The flood of candidates for university training has put so heavy a strain upon the university and its colleges as to lead almost to a breakdown. It has brought out in high relief every deficiency of the system. And if justice is to be done to a great opportunity, and the eagerness of young Bengalis for academic training is to be made as advantageous to their country as it ought to be, it has become manifest that bold and drastic changes and improvements in the system are necessary.

2. The full significance of these facts can perhaps be most clearly brought out by a comparison between Bengal and the United Kingdom. The populations of the two countries are almost the same—about 45,000,000. By a curious coincidence the number of students preparing for university degrees is also almost the same—about 26,000. But since in Benga only about one in ten of the population can read and write, the proportion of the educated classes of Bengal who are taking full-time university courses is almost ten times as great as in the United Kingdom.

3. Nor is this the most striking part of the contrast. The figures for the United Kingdom include students drawn from all parts of the British Empire, including Bengal itself; those of Bengal are purely Indian. Again, in the United Kingdom a substantial proportion of the student population consists of women; in Bengal, the number of women-students is—and in view of existing social conditions is likely long to remain—very small indeed. Still more important, in the United Kingdom a very large proportion of the student-population are

following professional courses, in medicine, law, theology, teaching, engineering or technical science. In Bengal, though the number of students of law is very great, the number of medical students is much smaller than in the United Kingdom; there are very few students of engineering; students of theology, whether Hindu or Islamic, do not study for university degrees; students of teaching are extraordinarily few; and there are, as yet practically no students of technical science, because the scientific industries of Bengal are in their infancy, and draw their experts mainly from England.

4. It appears, therefore, that while an enormously higher proportion of the educated male population of Bengal proceeds to University studies than is the case in the United Kingdom, a very much smaller proportion goes to the University for what is ordinarily described as vocational training. The great majority —over 22,000 out of 26,000—pursue purely literary courses which do not fit them for any but administrative, clerical, teaching and (indirectly) legal careers. In the United Kingdom (if the training of teachers be regarded as vocational training) it is possible that these proportions would be nearly reversed. A comparison with any other large and populous state would yield smaller results. Bengal is unlike any other civilised country in that so high a proportion of its educated classes set before them a University degree as the natural goal of ambition, and seek this goal by means of studies which are almost purely literary in character, and which therefore provide scarcely any direct professional training[1].

8. **Secondary Education (1905-21).** This period witnessed an unprecedented expansion in secondary education and in 1921-22, the number of secondary schools rose to 7,530 (with 11,06,803 pupils) as against 5,124 schools (with 5,90,129 pupils). This expansion was achieved mainly through private Indian enterprise and was due to the great social and political awakening of these days.

Throughout the period, however, the official attempts aimed, not at quantity, but at quality and the best statement of the official view can be seen in the following paragraph of the *Government Resolution on Educational Policy* (1913):—

"22. Subject to the necessities of variation in deference to local conditions the policy of the Government of India in regard to secondary English schools is—

(1) to improve the few existing Government schools by—

(*a*) employing only graduates or trained teachers ;

(*b*) introducing a graded service for teachers of English with a minimum salary of Rs. 40 per month and a maximum salary of Rs. 400 per month;

(*c*) providing proper hostel accommodation;

(*d*) introducing a school course complete in itself with a staff sufficient to teach what may be called the modern side with special attention to the development of an historical and a geographical sense;

(*e*) introducing manual training and improving science teaching.

[1]Vol. I, pp. 19-21.

(2) To increase largely the grant-in-aid, in order that aided institutions may keep pace with the improvements in government schools on the above-mentioned lines, and to encourage the establishment of new aided institutions where necessary.

(3) To multiply and improve training colleges so that trained teachers may be available for public and private institutions.

(4) To found government schools in such localities as may, on a survey of local conditions and with due regard to economy of educational effort and expense, be proved to require them."

This statement of policy consists of four parts: the second and third parts are the continuation of the policy recommended by the Indian Education Commission. The fourth part is merely a reiteration of an exception to the general policy of withdrawal—an exception which had been foreseen and admitted to be necessary by the Commission itself.

(a) *The Theory of Model Institutions:* But the first part marks a clear departure from the policy recommended by the Commission. It was pointed out in Chapter V that the Commission had recommended the withdrawal of Government from direct management of educational institutions. This recommendation had not been *acted* upon, but it still remained the declared official policy. The Government Resolution of 1913, however, definitely abandoned this policy and stated that it was the duty of Government to maintain its existing institutions as "models" to private enterprise. The necessity and utility of this departure from the old policy was often challenged. To begin with, *it was pointed out that this policy came in the way of larger grants to private schools.* In an attempt to make "models" of its institutions, Government had to spend large amounts on the *few* institutions maintained by it, and consequently the more numerous private secondary schools did not obtain that assistance from Government to which they were entitled on the strength of numbers and which was held out to them in para. 22(2) of the Government Resolution quoted above. Moreover, Indian public opinion often questioned the expediency of maintaining "model" institutions. It was said, for instance, that the improvement of private schools was mainly a question of funds and that private schools remained inefficient because they did not have adequate financial resources and *not* because there was not a model institution to which they might look up for inspiration and guidance. It was, therefore, urged that Government should close its institutions and use the funds so saved for giving larger grants to private schools in order to enable them to increase their efficiency.

(b) *Provision of Vocational Courses:* As in the earlier periods, attempts continued to be made, even in these years, to provide alternative examinations to the Matriculation and to divert students into various walks of life. As in the past, these attempts did not succeed, although they led to some enrichment of the curriculum and reform of the examination system.

A pertinent question that arises here is this: what were the causes that led to the failure to all attempts, made since 1882, to provide alternative examinations to the Matriculation so as to divert students into various walks of life? The following answer may be suggested to this question:—

(*i*) The measures that ought to have been adopted for the introduction of vocational or pre-vocational courses at the upper secondary stage were the following:

(1) Preparing carefully planned schemes of vocational instruction in consultation with the representatives of employers of educated labour, such as Banks, Railways, Commercial Firms, etc.

(2) Providing for the teaching of these courses in Government institutions;

(3) Awarding special grants to private schools in order to enable them adequately to staff and equip their schools for teaching such courses;

(4) Conducting special institutions for training teachers required for these special courses; and

(5) Developing the trade and industries of the country with a view to creating more openings for the pupils educated in these special courses.

(*ii*) But these measures—some of which, at any rate, had been visualised by the Indian Education Commission—were not adopted. On the other hand, *the real problem at issue got side-tracked by the belief that an alternative examination would meet all the needs of the situation.* It was to the creation of such an examination that most of the efforts were directed between 1882 and 1921.

(*iii*) These attempts did not, therefore, succeed in introducing vocational or pre-vocational education, although they led to some enrichment of the secondary course and to some reforms in the method of examinations.

(*iv*) On the other hand, it must be admitted that there was no keen demand from the public for the introduction of vocational courses and that the attempts made at introducing them often became unpopular. This was due to several causes among which the following may be mentioned:—

(1) Until very late in this period, the problem of educated unemployment had not become serious. It was still possible for a person with a knowledge of English to get some employment either under Government or in private schools or trade. In other words, a knowledge of English led to *employment* and was, therefore, still equivalent to *vocational training*; and so long as this situation did not alter, real vocational training did not have much chance of becoming popular.

(2) The pupils of the upper secondary standards came mostly from the middle-classes (from the economic stand-point) who were accustomed for centuries to live by intellectual work rather than by manual labour. It was not surprising that these pupils did not take kindly to manual work and vocational training.

(3) Lastly, the lack of provision of hand-work, etc., at the primary and lower secondary stage proved to be another obstacle to the introduction of vocational courses at the upper secondary stage. Children who were brought up in an entirely bookish curriculum could not naturally be expected to take kindly to manual work in the tenth year of study. What was really needed was a good deal of the *doing element* in the school course right from its very beginning.

(*c*) *Improvements in the Teaching of English:* It was shown in Chapter VI that by 1902, the teaching of English became the prime object of the secondary course. This exaggerated importance attached to the study of English continued throughout the period under review and various means were employed to improve the teaching of English. Newer methods of teaching, such as the direct method, were introduced; as far as possible, only trained teachers were appointed to teach English; the teaching of English in the lower standards was put in the hands of the most competent teachers available in the school; prescription of text-books or their abolition, the raising of the minimum

percentage of marks required for passing, adoption of stricter standards of examination, etc., were also tried. But if the reports of examiners are any guide to the attainments of candidates, the standard of English in 1921-22 was not much different from that of 1901-02. In fact, one cannot help feeling that the educationists of this period were attempting an impossible task. They wanted to give every one who came to the secondary school a command over the English language. This was not possible except for a small minority, and, therefore, the emphasis on a command over English practically meant torture for the average pupil. It took up a good deal of his time; it hindered the proper study of liberal subjects in the curriculum; and for all the efforts that he made to master the alien language, he was left with a very inadequate sense of achievement.

(d) *Medium of Instruction:* This exaggerated importance attached to a command over English considerably hindered the movement for the use of modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the secondary stage. We have seen already how Curzon directed that the modern Indian languages should be used as media in the lower secondary standards. His recommendations were generally carried out during the period under review; and by 1921-22, the modern Indian languages came generally to be used as the media of instruction at the middle school stage. But the question of abandoning the use of English as the medium at the high school stage was again left undecided.

(e) *Training of Teachers:* Better results, however, could be obtained in the field of the training of teachers for secondary schools. Reference has already been made to the momentous declaration of Lord Curzon which initiated a new era in the training of secondary teachers. By 1912, there were 15 training institutions for teachers in secondary schools which afforded instruction to nearly 1,400 students. The *Government Resolution on Educational Policy*, 1913, marked a still further advance by stating that "eventually under modern systems of education no teacher should be allowed to teach without a certificate that he has qualified to do so". It also stated that Government wished to multiply and improve training colleges so that trained teachers might be available for public and private institutions. Consequently, the period 1904-21 marked a great advance in respect

of the facilities for the training of secondary teachers. In 1921-22, the number of Training Colleges for secondary (English) teachers had increased to 13 as against 6 in 1904.

The achievements of the period 1902-21 in secondary education, therefore, were both *qualitative* as well as *quantitative*. During these two decades, the number of secondary schools and scholars rose very considerably. At the same time, there was a marked improvement in quality due mainly to stricter conditions of recognition, increase in expenditure from all sources, and a larger output of trained teachers. The main problems that yet remained to be solved were (*i*) the adoption of modern Indian languages as the media of instruction at the High School stage, and (*ii*) the provision of vocational or pre-vocational courses. It was to the solution of these that attempts were directed in the next period (*i.e.*, 1921-37) the narrative of which will be resumed in the next chapter.

9. **Gokhale's Attempts for Compulsory Primary Education (1910-12).** As stated earlier Lord Curzon had initiated a new policy of larger grants to primary education which had brought about a considerable expansion of primary education between 1905 and 1912. But the official preference for qualitative improvement soon began to make itself felt and Government, instead of accepting the principle of compulsory primary education, began to occupy itself more and more with qualitative improvements. This development was not liked by Indian nationalist opinion which began to press Government for the introduction of compulsory education. This demand was further strengthened by the fact that the Gaekwar of Baroda introduced compulsory education throughout his State in 1906. The public were not slow to point out that what was done by the Gaekwar for his State, may easily be done by the British Government for its own territories. The great exponent of this demand was Shri G. K. Gokhale.

Between 1910 and 1913 Gokhale made heroic efforts to make Government accept the principle of compulsory primary education. On 19th March, 1910, he moved the following resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council:—

> That this Council recommends that a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country and that a mixed commission of officials and non-officials be appointed at a early date to frame definite proposals.

The resolution was withdrawn on an assurance from Government that the whole question would be examined most carefully. But on 16th March, 1911, Gokhale returned to the attack and introduced his bill *to make better provision for the extension of elementary education* which embodied most of the proposals of his speech dated 19th March, 1910. This bill was based mainly on the Compulsory Education Acts of England, 1870 and 1876, and on the Irish Education Act of 1892. The following quotation from the statement of objects and reasons gives a clear idea of the main features of the bill:—

The object of this Bill is to provide for the gradual introduction of the principle of compulsion into the elementary education system of the country. The experience of other countries has established beyond dispute the fact that the only effective way to ensure a wide diffusion of elementary education among the mass of the people is by a resort to compulsion in some form or the other. And the time has come when a beginning at least should be made in this direction in India. The Bill is of a purely permissive character and its provisions will apply to areas notified by municipalities or district boards which will have to bear such proportion of the increased expenditure which will be necessitated, as may be laid down by the Government of India, by rules. Moreover, no area can be notified without the previous sanction of the Provincial Government and further it must fulfil the test which the Government of India may, by rules, lay down as regards the percentage of children already at school within its limits. Finally the provisions are intended to apply in the first instance only to boys, though later on a local body may extend them to girls; and age limits proposed are only six and ten years. It is hoped that these are sufficient safeguards against any rash or injudicious action on the part of local bodies. This measure is essentially a cautious one, indeed to some it may appear to err too much on the side of caution.

The bill was circulated for opinion and came up for discussion again on the 17th of March, 1912. The debate lasted for two days, and it became evident that Government was not then prepared to accept even a modest bill like this. As the official members were in a clear majority in the Central Legislature of that time, and as a number of non-official members also were opposed to it for some reason or the other, the bill had no chance of success. All the eloquent pleading of Gokhale, therefore, went in vain and when the motion to refer the bill to the Select Committee was put to vote, it was thrown out by 38 votes against 13. This did not, of course, come as a surprise to anybody, least of all to Gokhale himself. He had read the situation correctly and, earlier in the debate, had already referred to the expected result of the voting in the following majestic words:—

My Lord, I know that my Bill will be thrown out before the day closes, I make no complaint. I shall not even feel depressed. I know too well the

story of the preliminary efforts that were required even in England, before the Act of 1870 was passed, either to complain or to feel depressed. Moreover, I have always felt and have often said that we, of the present generation in India, can only hope to serve our country by our failures. The men and women who will be privileged to serve her by their successes will come later. We must be content to accept cheerfully the place that has been allotted to us in our onward march. The Bill, thrown out today, will come back again and again, till on the stepping-stones of its dead selves, a measure ultimately rises which will spread the light of knowledge throughout the land. It may be that this anticipation will not come true. It may be that our efforts may not conduce even indirectly to the promotion of the great cause which we all have at heart and that they may turn out after all to be nothing better than the mere ploughing of the sands of the sea-shore. But, my Lord, whatever fate awaits our labours, one thing is clear. We shall be entitled to feel that we have done our duty, and, where the call of duty is clear, it is better even to labour and fail than not to labour at all.[1]

Thus closed the first chapter in the history of compulsory education in India, and for all the zeal and ability with which Gokhale worked at the cause, his main object was not realised. The principles underlying the bill—modest as they appear today—were really far in advance of the times and the cautious and conservative officials of those days would not accept them as practical propositions. But Gokhale's efforts were not entirely in vain; they led, as we have seen, to the creation of a Department of Education under the Government of India; they considerably strengthened the movement in favour of mass education; they awakened Government to the duty regarding the education of the masses; and the great activity of Government in the field of primary education in the quinquennium 1912-17, was largely the indirect result of the efforts of Gokhale.

IV. Government Resolution of 1913. Although Government had turned down Gokhale's bill, it could not entirely ignore the growing popular demand for the spread of mass education. It had, therefore, to take some steps in the matter and a great occasion for the same was given by the visit of His Majesty King George V to India in 1911-12. At the Coronation of His Majesty, a recurring grant of Rs. 50,00,000 was assigned to popular education. This was followed by the *Government Resolution on Educational Policy*, dated 21st February, 1913, which laid down the following principles for the expansion and improvement of primary education:—

10. The proposition that illiteracy must be broken down and that primary education has, in the present circumstances of India, a predominant claim upon

[1] *Gokhale's Speeches* (1920 Edition), p. 660.

the public funds, represent accepted policy no longer open to discussion. For financial and administrative reasons of decisive weight the Government of India have refused to recognise the principle of compulsory education; but they desire the widest possible extension of primary education on a voluntary basis. As regards free elementary education, the time has not yet arrived when it is practicable to dispense wholly with fees without injustice to the many villages which are waiting for the provision of schools. The fees derived from those pupils who can pay them are now devoted to the maintenance and expansion of primary education, and a total remission of fees would involve to a certain extent a more prolonged postponement of a provision of schools in villages without them. In some provinces elementary education is already free and in the majority of provinces liberal provision is already made for giving free elementary instruction to those boys whose parents cannot afford to pay fees. Local governments have been requested to extend the application of the principle of free elementary education amongst the poorer and more backward sections of the population. Further than this, it is not possible at present to go.....

It is the desire and hope of the Government of India to see in the not distant future some 91,000 primary public schools added to the 100,000 which already exist for boys and to double the 4½ millions of the pupils who now receive instruction in them.

This statement of policy hardly needs any comment. It is evident that the struggle between quality and quantity—which had hitherto been confined to collegiate and secondary education—had now entered the field of primary education also. It is true that the Resolution expressed a hope that, although improvement would be the main aim of Government, it would not neglect expansion and that steps would be taken to double the number of schools and pupils. But as later events showed, these hopes did not materialise.

11. **The Patel Act (1918) and other Provincial Acts for Compulsory Primary Education.** The work of Gokhale was taken up at Provincial level by Shri Vithalbhai J. Patel, another great leader of the Indian Nationalist Movement. His bill for the introduction of compulsory primary education in municipal areas was accepted by the Bombay Legislative Council and became the Bombay Primary Education (District Municipalities) Act of 1918, known popularly as the Patel Act.

The example of Shri Vithalbhai Patel was imitated very extensively. Based on the general plan of his bill, several Acts for compulsory primary education were passed before 1921.

The detailed provisions of these Acts will be examined in Chapter IX. Here it is enough to state that these Acts were passed with great enthusiasm and that they have a historical

and theoretical value as the first recognition of the principle of compulsion by the Provincial Governments concerned.

ACTS FOR COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION

Year.	Province.	Name of the Act.	Compulsion whether for Boys or Girls.	Whether applicable to Rural or Urban areas.
1919	Punjab	Primary Education Act	Boys	Both
,,	United Provinces	,,	Both	Municipal
,,	Bengal	,,	Boys (extended to girls by an amendment in 1932)	,,
,,	Bihar and Orissa		Boys	Both
1920	Bombay	City of Bombay P. E. Act	Both	Applicable to City of Bombay only
,,	Central Provinces	P. E. Act	,,	Both
,,	Madras	Elementary Education Act	,,	,,

12. **Quantitative Position of Primary Education (1921-22).** Owing partly to the absence of compulsion and partly to the official predilection for quality rather than quantity, the expansion of primary education after 1911-12 was relatively slow and in 1921-22, the quantitative position of primary education in India was far from happy. The number of children at school was only 2·6 per cent of the population (instead of the expected 15 per cent) and the statistics of literacy of the census of 1921 were equally disappointing. Commenting on them, the Hartog Committee observes:—

Between 1892 and 1922, the percentage of male literates of five years and over in British India increased by only 1·4 per cent (from 13·0 to 14·4) and that of female literates by 1·3 per cent (from 0·7 to 2·0). The percentage of literates of both sexes and all ages was only 7·2 in 1921. Progress has been extremely slow.[1]

13. **Qualitative Improvements in Primary Education (1905-22).** If Government thus failed to bring about a rapid expansion of primary education, it would have been some compensation at least if the official drive to improve quality had borne material success. But even this did not happen.

[1] *Report*, p. 45.

(*a*) *Training of Teachers:* By far, the best qualitative achievement of this period was the improvement in the training of primary teachers. Ever since the momentous directions given by the Indian Education Commission (1882-83), the problem of the training of primary teachers had received considerable attention, especially in the period 1901 to 1921. Its main events may be summarised as under:—

(*i*) Government accepted the recommendations of the Commission that the training of primary teachers was a responsibility of the State. Consequently, a large number of training institutions came to be conducted directly by Government. Moreover, Government gave substantial financial assistance to training institutions conducted by local bodies or private agencies.

(*ii*) There was a steady expansion of training institutions during the period under review. In 1921-22, there were, in British India including Burma, 926 training institutions for men (with an enrolment of 22,774 students) and 146 training institutions for women (with an enrolment of 4,157 students). Out of these, 433 were conducted by Government, 483 by Local Boards and Municipalities with the assistance of Government grants, and 156 were conducted by private bodies, out of which 151 were aided and 5 unaided. The training institutions conducted by Missions numbered 92.

(*iii*) The following statistics of trained and untrained teachers working in recognised primary schools in 1921-22 (excluding the teachers of English or classical languages) in British India including Burma are available:—

Primary Schools managed by	Trained teachers.	Untrained teachers.	Total.
Government	1,155	888	2,043
Local Boards	38,757	31,002	69,759
Municipalities	5,898	5,767	11,665
Aided	20,689	65,229	85,918
Unaided	1,114	10,787	11,901
Total ..	67,613	113,673	181,286

The percentage of trained teachers works out to 38 of the whole. It was highest in schools conducted by Government —these were mostly practising schools attached to training

institutions and were consequently conducted as model institutions—and lowest in unaided schools.

(*b*) *Remuneration of Primary Teachers:* In this respect, considerable improvements were effected in some provinces. The Province of Bombay gave a very good lead. Here, most of the schools were local authority schools and the problem was, therefore, easier. In 1901-02, the average pay of a primary teacher was only Rs. 8 or so and there were no incremental scales of pay. By 1921-22, definite incremental scales had been introduced and the average pay of a primary teacher was raised to Rs. 33 p.m. Similar, if not the same progress, was made in other provinces like the Punjab or C.P. where most of the primary schools were conducted by local bodies. Equally good results could not, however, be obtained in provinces like Bengal, Bihar or Madras where most of the primary schools were private. In Bengal, for instance, the average pay continued to be as low as Rs. 8 p.m. This was mainly due to the fact that the Provincial Government did not spend adequately on primary education or pay liberal grants-in-aid to primary schools.

Another drawback in the picture was the rise in the cost of living that had occurred since 1902 and particularly after the First World War. According to Adam, a primary teacher in Bengal got about Rs. 3 to 5 p.m. in 1835. By 1921, this had increased to Rs. 8 or so p.m. But in the meanwhile the cost of living had increased so many times that it would be perfectly correct to say that the teacher of an indigenous school of 1835 was really better off than a teacher in the aided school of 1921. When salaries at two different periods are compared in terms of money, due allowance has to be made for the rise or fall in the purchasing power of the rupee. If such allowance is made, it will have to be admitted that the improvement in the economic condition of the primary teachers (except perhaps in Bombay) was not very appreciable.

(*c*) *Curricula:* The general trend of curricular revision during this period was to make it more complex and elaborate and to add subject after subject. Over and above the subjects that had already entered the curriculum by 1902, School-gardening and Nature-study which were the two favourite subjects of this period were introduced in the primary curricula of several provinces. It is also interesting to note that Curzon's idea of

differentiating between urban and rural schools generally came to be discredited by 1921. In Bombay, the separate rural standards that existed since 1877-78 were abolished altogether in 1916-17. A similar tale was repeated in most Provinces where Curzon's idea was taken up and as early as 1916-17, it was reported that "the differences between curricula for rural and for urban schools are slight and tend to disappear. The main difference now consists in the objects offered for observation lessons".[1]

(*d*) *Buildings and Equipment:* Some improvement was made in these respects; but the rate of expansion of primary education was far more rapid so that, comparatively speaking, conditions regarding buildings and equipment deteriorated rather than improved for the country as a whole.

(*e*) *Study of Qualitative Aspects:* The official emphasis on quality, led to discussions out of which arose some very important concepts by which the quality and effectiveness of a system of primary education was to be judged. For instance, the ideas of *average duration of a pupil's school life*, *stagnation*, *wastage*, *lapse into illiteracy*, *single-teacher schools*, *irregular attendance*, *adjustment of holidays to local conditions*, etc., began to come into the discussions of the problem. Of course, there was a good deal of vague talk and not infrequently, even wrong methods of calculation were adopted. But it was a great step ahead to have discovered certain objective standards to judge the efficiency of primary education. Prior to 1921, these ideas had just begun; but, as we shall see later, they began to dominate the scene in the next period.

On the whole, what exactly was the qualitative position of primary education in 1921-22? The answer cannot be said to be very complimentary to the officers who laid so much emphasis on qualitative reforms throughout this period. The curriculum of primary education was originally devised to convey Western knowledge to the people through their mother-tongue; later it added two other objectives—to prepare pupils for secondary schools and for the lower ranks of public service where a knowledge of English was not essential. These three aims still held the field even in 1921-22, all revisions of curricula notwithstanding; wastage and stagnation were large; the duration of school life was short in the case of boys and shorter still in the case of girls;

[1] *Quinquennial Review* (1912-17), Vol. I, p. 116.

not infrequently, the improved curriculum remained on paper only and the standard of teaching actually obtaining in schools was often unsatisfactory either because it was not possible to supply trained teachers to all schools, or because the equipment was poor or the supervision, inadequate; and no successful experiment had been made effective to co-ordinate the teaching in rural schools with their environment. It would, therefore, be correct to say that in qualitative matters also, the success obtained so far was not at all satisfactory.

14. **Modern Indian Languages.** The position of the modern Indian languages in university courses began to improve after the Indian Universities Act of 1904. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1902-07, says :—

> Next may be noted a certain increase in the honour paid to the vernacular languages of India. Previously vernacular languages found no place in University courses except in Madras where they were alternative to a classical language. Now there are two Universities, *viz.*, Calcutta and Madras, which have made the vernacular language a compulsory subject of study for the Intermediate examination, and one University. Calcutta, which requires an exercise in the vernacular from all candidates for the B.A. degree; while Madras, though not requiring a vernacular to be studied for the B.A. permits the vernacular history and literature to be chosen from among the various alternatives. In the other Universities the vernaculars find no place either as optional or compulsory subjects of study.[1]

The Calcutta University Commission, however, was far more emphatic. It said :—

> We are emphatically of opinion that there is something unsound in a system of education which leaves a young man, at the conclusion of his course, unable to speak or write his own mother tongue fluently and correctly. It is thus beyond controversy that a systematic effort must henceforth be made to promote the serious study of the vernaculars in secondary schools, intermediate colleges and in the University. The elaborate scheme recently adopted by the University for the critical, historical and comparative study of the Indian vernaculars for the M.A. examination is but the coping stone of an edifice of which the base has yet to be placed on a sound foundation, and it is only when such a structure has been completed that Bengal will have a literature worthy of the greatness and civilization of its people.[2]

But action on these recommendations had not yet been taken when the period under review came to a close. On the whole, therefore, it may be said that the study of modern Indian languages were not sufficiently emphasized in Indian universities even in 1921-22, mainly owing to an emphasis on English and classical languages, and that this neglect materially affected the

[1] pp. 27-28.
[2] pp. 59-60.

development of these languages and their adoption as the media of instruction.

15. **Education Departments.** Reference has already been made in Chapter V to the organisation of the I.E.S. which was to hold all superior posts in the Department and was to be recruited in England. Indians were strongly opposed to all public services recruited in England. They argued that this policy was equivalent to a betrayal of the promises given in the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 to the effect that Indians could hope to rise to the highest posts under Government. They also resented the implications of the moral and intellectual inferiority of the Indian people which this policy implied. Thirdly, they argued that Indianisation of services was the first essential step in a programme of giving self-government to the people. Fourthly, the large salaries of the members of these services were often criticized and it was urged that a poor country like India could never afford such a pay-roll. Finally, a feeling was gaining ground that these central services were opposed to national aspirations. The agitation on this subject grew so strong during this period that, on 20th August, 1917, the Secretary of State for India announced that the policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India was in complete accord, was that of *increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration.* The policy of the Public Service Commission of 1887 which was so vehemently upheld by Curzon and his successors was thus officially buried and a new era of rapid Indianisation of the Education Department set in. For instance, consider the following statistics:—

	1916-17.	1921-22.
No of Posts in I.E.S. (Men) held by		
Europeans	210	200
Indians	9	120
Vacant	20	53
Total ..	239	373
No. of Posts in I.E.S. (Women) held by		
Europeans	19	31
Indians	—	2
Vacant	2	9
Total ..	21	42

The situation had, therefore, begun to improve considerably when the period under review came to a close.

16. **National Education.** One of the most significant developments of this period was the birth of the concept of national education. This does not, of course, mean that the ideal of national education was not put forward at all in the nineteenth century. As shown already in Chapter V, the enquiry of the Indian Education Commission in 1882-83 led to a nation-wide awakening of educational thought and even at this early date, educated Indians came forward to give their evidence before the Commission and stress the need to correct some of the defects of Indian education such as absence of religious education, slow progress of mass education, etc. This critical attitude towards the official system became more and more pronounced as time passed and several private institutions came into existence which professed to have a *national outlook* because they differed in some respects from the Government or missionary schools and colleges. The most common of these characteristics were (*a*) Indian management; (*b*) a spirit of sacrifice on the part of the founders and teachers of the institution; (*c*) provision for religious education; (*d*) provision of some courses (over and above the usual courses recognised by the universities and the Education Departments) to meet the special cultural needs of the Indian people; (*e*) a keener study of the oriental classical languages chiefly intended to create self-respect and a love for past traditions and to show that Eastern civilization was at least as good as, if not better than, the Western; (*f*) greater attention to modern Indian languages; and (*g*) lower fees. But it must be noted that all these institutions worked *within* the official system in so far as they submitted to Departmental inspection and received grants-in-aid. They were, in fact, attempts to correct a few blemishes of the official system and not the signs of an uncompromising revolt against it. Very often, they were sectarian in character and to that extent, less truly national.

It was Lord Curzon's administration and policies that gave rise, not only to a new militant nationalism, but to national education as well. The *Swadeshi* Movement was born immediately after the partition of Bengal and although it was economic in origin and application, its spirit affected every walk of life.

A demand for *Swadeshi* education soon began to be put forward and was immeasurably strengthened by the repeated conflicts with the official policies and the utter failure of Indians to make the officials realise the Indian point of view in education. Between 1905 and 1921, therefore, we find a great ferment of educational thought within the fold of the Indian struggle for freedom. Of course, this early period shows a certain lack of clarity in ideas. This is but natural, for precision and definiteness usually come after the lapse of time and adequate experimentation. But in spite of this defect, the controversies of the period on the subject of national education are of great interest from the point of view of future developments.

On one point, almost all national thinkers were agreed; they all condemned the existing official system of education as unhelpful, and even antagonistic, to national development. When, however, it came to defining precisely what the new national education ought to be, opinions were naturally not so unanimous. But even so, certain fundamental principles of national education came to be universally accepted in a short time. These were, of course, inspired by the reaction to some salient defects of the official system and may be stated as follows:—

(*a*) *Indian Control:* Nationalist India resented the British control of Indian educational policies first and foremost, and demanded the substitution of Indian control. National education, therefore, was defined as one which, in the words of Mrs. Besant,

> must be controlled by Indians, shaped by Indians, carried on by Indians. It must hold up Indian ideals of devotion, wisdom and morality, and must be permeated by the Indian religious spirit rather than fed on the letter of the creeds. The spirit is spacious, tolerant, all-embracing, and recognizes that man goes to God along many roads and that all the prophets came from Him.[1]

(*b*) *Teaching the Love of Motherland :* Secondly, it was felt that national education must inculcate love and reverence for the motherland and for her glorious traditions. As Mrs. Besant wrote:—

> National education must live in an atmosphere of proud and glorious patriotism, and this atmosphere must be kept sweet, fresh, and bracing by the study of Indian literature, Indian history, Indian triumphs in science, in art, in politics, in war, in colonization, in manufactures, in trade, in commerce.[2]

[1]Lala Lajpat Rai: *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 29.

(*c*) *No Servile Imitation:* Thirdly, the official attempt to imitate England, to thrust English ideals on India, to create a new class of persons who would be *Indians in blood and colour but English in everything else*, was keenly resented. National leaders, therefore, pointed out that the old ideal of *spreading western science and literature* which was enunciated by the Despatch of 1854 and had held the field ever since, was now obsolete and had to be completely revised. "National education," wrote Mrs. Besant,

> must meet the national temperament at every point, and develop the national character. India is not to become a lesser—nor even a greater—England, but to evolve into a mightier India. British ideals are good for Britain, but it is India's ideals that are good for India. We do not want echoes nor monotones; we want a choral melody of nations, mirroring the varied qualities of Nature and of God. Shall Nature show but a single colour, and trees, and flowers, and mountains, and sky wear but a single hue? Harmonious variety and not monotony is the mark of perfection. Away from all apologies for India, with all deprecatory explanations of India's ways and customs, and traditions. India is herself, and needs not to be justified; for verily, God has evolved no greater, no more exquisite nationality than India's among all the broken reflections of His own perfect beauty.[1]

This statement should not, however, be interpreted to indicate a narrow nationalist outlook impervious to all influences from outside. In the heat of the political controversies of this period, people did not always maintain their balance. The study of Indian history became a tool in the national struggle for freedom rather than an impartial search after truth; all sorts of fantastic claims were put forward on behalf of ancient India to counteract the general denunciation, based on the racial arrogance or bias or prejudice of the ruling race; and an ultra-narrow nationalism often asserted that India had nothing to learn from the West. But these excesses were really due to the intensive political conflicts of this period and sane thinkers among the nationalist leaders did realise the limitations within which this glorification of the past should operate. In fact, all that the nationalists contended, therefore, was this: (i) there was no justification for the wholesale condemnation of India's past and traditions; (ii) India could rightly feel proud of her past; (iii) in the field of international culture, India was not merely a beggar who received without being able to return but an equal partner with other nations; (iv) while learning several valuable lessons from other countries, she had her own unique and valuable

[1] Lala Lajpat Rai: *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

contribution to make to World culture and thought; and (v) it is the duty of a national system of education to develop these attitudes of originality and self-respect combined with openness to accept new and useful ideas from *all* sources.

(*d*) *Domination of English to go:* Fourthly, national education desired to remove the domination of English, particularly its use as a medium of instruction, and to give their proper place to the modern Indian languages. Here the most uncompromising opposition to English came from Mahatma Gandhi. Even at this early period, he put forward the view that Hindustani should be the national language of India and that English should not be a medium of instruction at any stage of education. Of course, his views were not shared by several other leaders. But his extreme position was a natural reaction to the official emphasis on English, and as time passed, Indian opinion began to be influenced more by his views than those of other leaders.

(*e*) *Vocational Education to be Emphasized:* Fifthly, the failure of the modern system of education to bring about the economic development of the country was greatly condemned, and its growing expensive character was deplored. Indian opinion, therefore, asserted that national education must give due place to vocational education and its cost must be within the reach of the average Indian. Even at the end of this period, however, very little progress was achieved under the official system. Indian public opinion, therefore, began to assert that a national system of education must emphasize the economic development of the country and help to bring it about. Opinions were naturally divided regarding the means whereby this could be done. Some stood for the development of industries through the use of machine-power. Others condemned the use of machines on religious and spiritual grounds. The conflict was obviously much too fundamental to have been resolved at this time. But it is interesting to note that Mahatma Gandhi had, as early as 1921, enunciated certain principles which later on became the *Wardha Scheme of Basic Education.*

This fixation of the ideals of national education was probably the simplest of its aspects. Far more difficult were the problems of organisation and execution connected with the new concept. Institutions imparting national education from the primary to the university stage had to be organised; the teachers required

for them had to be obtained and specially trained; new curricula had to be developed; parents had to be persuaded to send their children to the national schools in preference to the official ones; social recognition for the degrees and diplomas granted by the national institutions had to be secured; and the huge funds required for maintaining the national schools on a sufficiently wide scale had to be collected year after year. These were obviously tasks that went far beyond the financial and human resources which the nationalist organisations of the day could command and consequently the whole experiment of national education had to contend against very heavy odds in these early years.

The attempts to start *national schools* fall into two distinct periods. The first upheaval occurred soon after the partition of Bengal. Government issued orders prohibiting students from participating in political meetings and demonstrations. These compelled several students to boycott schools and colleges and several others were rusticated by the authorities for participation in political activities. It was felt to be a national duty to provide for the education of the young men who had thus suffered and hence a *Society for the Promotion of National Education in Bengal* was organised under the chairmanship of Shri Gurudas Banerjee. The movement received great impetus because the Calcutta Congress (1906) resolved that the time had arrived "for the people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of national education for both boys and girls, and organise a system of education, literary, scientific and technical, suited to the requirements of the country, on National lines and under National control, and directed towards the realisation of National destiny". A large number of National High Schools was started by this Society and at one time, there were as many as 11 High Schools in Bengal and 40 in East Bengal.[1] Babu Satish Chandra Mukherjee was the chief worker of this Society which was imparting education in accordance with the Resolution of the Calcutta Congress. Outside Bengal, however, the movement did not spread materially —the only institution worth mention being the *Samarth Vidyalaya* at Talegaon, near Poona. But very soon, a deterioration set in. The political tempo created by the partition died out, particularly after the reunion of Bengal; and as early as 1920, Lala Lajpat

[1]See *Quinquennial Review* (1907-12), para. 670.

Rai was bewailing the disappearance of the National High Schools which were once so popular. He wrote:—

> The National Council of Education still exists, but only in name. Its condition is moribund. The leaders and officers themselves have strangulated it. Mr. T. Palit and Sir Rash Behari Ghosh, two of its strongest pillars, gave it a death-blow when they handed over their magnificent endowment to the Calcutta University, instead of to the National Council of Education, founded and led by them.[1] The few scholars who, with characteristic self-sacrifice, gave up careers to give instruction to the students of the National College, are all dispersed. They are seeking appointments in Government-aided institutions. The Nationalist schools, started by the Council, have, most of them, been disintegrated by the force of circumstances, and at the present moment the movement is nothing but a dilapidated and discarded landmark in the educational progress of the country.[2]

The second upheaval occurred in 1920-22. In spite of strong opposition from older statesmen like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mahatma Gandhi started preaching a boycott of Government schools and colleges. It was mainly because of *his* insistence that the Non-co-operation Resolution passed by the Nagpur Congress in 1920 earnestly advised the "gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government, and, in place of such schools and colleges, the establishment of national schools and colleges in the various Provinces".[3] This resolution was supported by Gandhiji on three grounds. The first and foremost was the supreme political necessity of the youth fighting for the freedom of their country. The main idea behind his Non-co-operation Movement of 1920-21 was that *Swaraj could be obtained within one year* if the public followed his advice in general and, in particular, completely boycotted the institutions conducted by Government and set up parallel institutions of its own. He desired to create a complete deadlock and paralyse Government by calling upon the people to make a supreme, co-ordinated, and comprehensive effort to non-co-operate with the alien rulers and naturally expected that the youth of the country, which included the students reading in schools and colleges, should take a prominent part in the struggle and sacrifice a year of their life for the cause of national freedom. Secondly, he felt it to be immoral and spiritually degrading that the young men and women of the country should continue to study in the institutions of a

[1]This has reference to endowments of Rs.15 lakhs and Rs. 12½ lakhs respectively given to the Calcutta University by Sir Tarak Nath Palit and Sir Rash Behari Ghosh.

[2]Lala Lajpat Rai: *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

[3]Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya: *History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. I, p. 203.

Government which was guilty of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs. And lastly, he was also convinced that, as an emergency measure, the public could really afford to maintain a parallel set of educational institutions—particularly secondary schools and colleges—without any financial assistance from Government.

This appeal of Gandhiji to the youth of the country, which was strongly supported by several other national leaders and, in particular, by the Ali Brothers,[1] did not go in vain. In fact, the response of the students to the call for the boycott of schools and colleges was far more successful than any other form of boycott or non-co-operation suggested by the Congress.[2] The first to come in the field were the students of the Aligarh University. When Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali Brothers visited Aligarh and addressed the students, a tremendous response came forth and the students decided in favour of Non-co-operation and refusal of all Government assistance. Amidst scenes of great enthusiasm, they passed a resolution demanding that the University should be nationalised by disowning all connection with Government and revising its curricula on national lines. But unfortunately, the unity among the students did not last long. Several of them were recalled home by their parents and some others were persuaded to change their views. A small band of convinced fighters, led by the redoubtable Maulana Mohamed Ali, however, continued to stay on the University premises and to claim that the institution should be fully nationalised according to their demand. This fight continued for some weeks; but at last the Trustees of the University sought police help and turned out all those who were fighting for nationalisation. They left quietly in spite of very great provocation, because non-violent passive resistance was the principal plank of the campaign, and established a new University, the *Jamia Millia Islamia* (National Muslim University) at Aligarh almost immediately.

This splendid lead given by Aligarh was soon picked up in other parts of India. As Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya observes:—

National Universities, National Colleges, and National Schools of all grades were started in different parts of the country. The student movement in the U.P., the Punjab, and the Bombay Presidency was in full swing. Bengal was not behindhand, and Calcutta witnessed one of those thrilling scenes which were

[1] Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Mahomed Ali.

[2] The only probable exception to this statement may be the No-vote campaign.

not few or far between in the course of that memorable year and a half. About the middle of January, on an appeal by Deshbandhu C. R. Das, thousands of students left their colleges and examinations. Gandhi visited Calcuttta and opened the National College on the 4th of February. He also visited Patna for a second time and formally opened the National College and inaugurated the Bihar Vidyapith. Thus in the course of less than four months, the National Muslim University of Aligarh, the Gujarat Vidyapith, the Bihar Vidyapith, the Kashi Vidyapith, the Bengal National University, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, and a large number of National Schools of all grades, with thousands of students on the rolls, were started in all parts of the country as a result of the great impetus given to National Education.[1]

The difficulties under which the new national institutions laboured can only be imagined. Almost overnight, they had to start functioning as full-fledged educational institutions of a type which had hardly been clearly envisaged in the past. Lack of suitable buildings and equipment and inadequate finances and trained personnel stared them in the face. Moreover, the students and teachers of these institutions were expected to carry on political propaganda among the people, particularly among those living in rural areas, during their vacations and sometimes even during term-time. The opposition from Government was always there and quite frequently, the prominent workers among the students or teachers were arrested on some charge or other and imprisoned. But in spite of all these handicaps and difficulties, the national institutions did yeoman service by formulating the principles of national education, by preparing alternative courses suited to national needs, and by adopting the modern Indian languages as media of instruction. It would be no exaggeration to say that it was in the *laboratory* of these national institutions that the fundamental principles of a national reconstruction of education were first evolved.

Unfortunately, a set-back to the whole movement came in too early. The tempo of the Non-co-operation Movement cooled down after some time, and as some cases of violence began to occur, Gandhiji withdrew the Movement altogether. The fundamental concept of *Swaraj within one year* did not materialise and as the prospect of Independence receded into the background, the enthusiasm of the students naturally began to wane. The national leaders also realised that it would be wrong to expect the students to sacrifice the whole of their career. The earlier policy of non-co-operation was accordingly changed and, excepting a few top-ranking institutions, others were allowed to seek

[1] *History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. I, p. 211.

Government recognition again and the students were also permitted, unless they desired to devote their whole life to the national cause, to seek admission to recognised schools and complete their training. By 1922, the tide had almost ebbed.

This second upheaval in national education, as the above account will show, differed materially from the first in several respects. It was more intensive, and more widespread; the numbers of students and teachers involved in it were far larger; it contributed more largely to constructive educational thought; and the movement continued to exist and do useful pioneer work even after non-co-operation came to an end, while the first upheaval hardly left any such mileposts behind. It is also worthy of note that the upheaval created a new national leadership and "not a few of the Provincial and District leaders of today are from among the..... students who had non-co-operated in 1920".[1] It also created a wave of patriotic feeling, not only among the students of national institutions, but among the whole of the student community at large. Even the conservative bureaucrats of the I.E.S. were affected considerably and felt that India was not really satisfied with the existing system and that a reconstruction thereof was urgently needed. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1917-22 observed:—

> 14. In short.....The crisis has left behind the conviction that our educational aims need restatement. If the function of education is the adaptation of the future citizen to his environment, then the content of education must change in harmony with changes in that environment. The political and economic conditions of India have been undergoing change and the national school movement can at least claim that it lent strength to the advocates of educational reform.

17. **General Review of the Period from 1855 to 1921.** This survey of the principal educational developments in the period from 1905 to 1921 can now be closed with a brief and general review of the educational developments in India as a whole between 1855 and 1921. These sixty-six years are unique in the history of modern education in India. Prior to 1855, the Education Departments did not exist; and in 1921 the control of education was transferred to Indian Ministers responsible to a legislature with a large elected majority. During the interim period of about seven decades, the ultimate authority in

[1] Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya: *op. cit.*, p. 211.

education was a bureaucracy—whether it was the bureaucracy of the officers of the Education Departments or ultimately of the I.C.S. It would, therefore, be desirable to evaluate the principal achievements of this *Bureaucratic Raj* in education and to see where exactly the Indian Education Ministers had to begin their work.

(*a*) *Expansion—its extent and limitations:* It will be seen from the narrative of events contained in this and the three preceding chapters that there was a great expansion of the modern system of education between 1854-1921. It would, therefore, be interesting to compare the statistics of education in 1855 with those of 1921-22:—

	1855.	1921-22.
1. Universities	..	10
2. Arts Colleges	21	165
3. Professional Colleges (the figures of 1855 under this head include Professional Schools other than Normal Schools)	13	64
4. Secondary Schools	281	7,530
5. Primary Schools	2,810	1,55,017
6. Special Schools	7	3,344
7. Total number of recognised institutions	3,132	1,66,130
8. Total number of scholars in recognised institutions	1,35,079	73,96,560
9. Total expenditure on Education ..	Rs. 9,99,898	Rs. 17,35,88,099
10. Govt. expenditure on Education ..	Not known; but most of the above amount was expended by Government.	8,56,01,366

N.B.—The figures for 1855 are taken from the *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, General Table No. 1a. Those for 1921-22 are for British India only, exclusive of Burma.

This expansion of the State system of education is certainly a creditable performance. But one has to remember that there was a considerable set-off to this achievement inasmuch as the indigenous system of education mostly disappeared during the

period under review. We saw, in Chapter I, that there is good evidence to believe that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, almost every village had a school of some sort. This vast system of indigenous education had almost ceased to exist and by 1921-22, the *unrecognised institutions*—which term includes all the *known* educational institutions outside the State system—numbered only 16,322 with only 422,165 pupils. It was mainly because of this set-off that the percentage of literacy given by Adam does not differ materially from that of 1921-22. For instance, take the following statistics:—

	Adam's Figures (Taken from his intensive studies of six Thanas in the third report. *Vide* Chapter I).	*Position of British India in* 1921-22 (Burma is excluded).
(*a*) Centres of Instruction, *i.e.*, Schools—public and domestic—as given by Adam and schools—recognised and unrecognised—as given in Departmental Reports	2,210 (1 for 225 persons)	1,82,752 (1 for 1,280 persons)
(*b*) Pupils under instruction ..	6,786	78,18,725
(*c*) Percentage of pupils under instruction to the total population (This ought to be about 15 per cent) ..	1·4	3·3
(*d*) Number of Adult literates,[1] above the age of 15. (Adam's figures are for literates above the age of 14) ..	21,911	1,24,60,170
(*e*) Percentage of Adult literates to the total population	4·4	5·2

[1]Figures given here are for the whole of British India excluding Ajmere-Merwara, Andamans and Nicobars, British Baluchistan, Coorg and Delhi for which figures are not available.

If allowance is made for the imperfections in Adam's figures, for the fact that education was decaying in the days of Adam, and for the fact that the area surveyed by Adam (which had been under a long period of anarchy) was in all probability more backward in education than other parts of India which had been under a more or less settled government, it will be evident that the educational position of India in 1921-22 was not appreciably different from that in 1821-22, especially if we look at the problem from the point of view of the work that yet remained to be done.

The achievements of the modern system of education, therefore, were hardly of any importance from the *quantitative* point

of view. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the State had not accepted any responsibility for the education of the people, the cultivation of letters was restricted to a *small minority* of the population, and the vast majority—which included almost all the females—were unable to read and write. Even in 1921-22, there was no material improvement in the situation. Education was still confined to a small minority. The percentage of literacy in India in 1921 was still low, and the vast majority of the people still remained outside the educational system. It is, of course, true that there were a few important gains. For instance, there had been a gradual change in the public attitude to female education and women were now entering educational institutions in ever-increasing numbers. Similarly, there was also an awakening among the less advanced sections of society and pupils belonging to them were now enrolled in educational institutions in a much larger proportion than a hundred years previously. But without belittling the importance of these achievements, it may be stated that the *spread* of education in 1921-22 was not materially wider than that in 1835-38 and many even considered it disappointing in view of the great expansion achieved by the State system of schools during the period under review.

(*b*) *Causes of Inadequate Quantitative Expansion:* The educational position in 1921-22, therefore, was, in a way, paradoxical. On the one hand, there had been a considerable expansion of the State system of education. The increase in expenditure from Government funds—from about Rs. 1 lakh in 1821 to Rs. 902 lakhs in 1921—deserves particular notice. On the other hand, the rise in the percentage of population enrolled in schools was not proportionate to the increase in expenditure; nor was the rise in the percentage of literacy proportionate to the rise in the pupils under instruction. As may be easily anticipated, this was the paradox which educationists were called upon to explain.

One school of thinkers tried to explain the situation by pointing out the *intrinsic difficulties of the problem* and *the waste and ineffectiveness* involved in the educational system. According to this school, the slow advance of mass education was due to:—

(*i*) Large increase in population;

(*ii*) High birth-rate which added millions to the number of those to be educated;

(*iii*) High death-rate which created wide gaps in the ranks of literates turned out by the schools;

(*iv*) Wastage due to stagnation, deaths, premature withdrawals from schools, etc., so that only a very small minority of the children enrolled in schools *attained* literacy;

(*v*) Lapse into illiteracy on the part of those who had once been made literate, owing to lack of suitable environment for the maintenance of literacy;

(*vi*) Intrinsic difficulties of the problem such as scattered population centres, poverty, apathy of the people, multiplicity of castes, creeds, languages, etc.

The other school of thinkers did not minimise either the extent of the intrinsic difficulties or the value of the work already achieved; but it was of opinion that the slow progress of mass education was due, not so much to the difficulties and defects enumerated above, as to the following causes:—

(*i*) Almost complete disappearance of indigenous systems of education;

(*ii*) Lack of adequate funds;

(*iii*) Emphasis on the development of collegiate and secondary education which necessarily involved, on financial grounds, a neglect of primary education;

(*iv*) Emphasis on departmental institutions (which were necessarily costlier) rather than on private institutions which would have enabled Government to achieve expansion at a lesser cost;

(*v*) Emphasis on quality rather than on quantity particularly in the sphere of primary education;

(*vi*) Neglect of modern Indian languages;

(*vii*) Adoption of English as the medium of instruction;

(*viii*) Absence of compulsory primary education.

Obviously, the differences between these two schools of thought are of fundamental importance to the problem and hence it was quite natural that the suggestions for reform put forward by one school should be quite different from those of the other. As will be seen later in Chapter XI, the history of primary education in the next period centred mainly round the conflict between these two points of view.

(*c*) *Qualitative Achievements of the State System of Education:* The main achievements of the new system of education, therefore, were *qualitative* rather than quantitative. It substituted a newer and a comparatively more efficient system of education for the indigenous institutions, both elementary and higher. The difference is not marked at the elementary stage, even though in some respects the modern primary schools do show positive improvements. For instance, their curriculum is broader and more liberal; the methods of teaching are better and more modernised; the use of printed books is a definite asset; the teachers are, on the whole, abler than those of the indigenous schools. On the other hand, it is complained that the modern primary school has lost the elasticity of the indigenous system, and that it is not as finely adjusted to the needs and requirements of the rural population as the indigenous system was. There can be no doubt, however, that there is a world of difference between the modern secondary schools, colleges, and universities on the one hand and the *tols*, the *pathshalas*, and the *madrassahs* on the other. The indigenous system of higher education was a relic of the middle ages. It was dominated by religion, confined to a small minority of the total population, and absolutely divorced from the modern developments in science. The rejection of this system followed by the establishment of another which aimed at a spread of Western knowledge and science was, therefore, a great achievement. It is true that in the early years of the new system, the pendulum was swung too far to the other side. There was a good deal of undeserved contempt and condemnation heaped upon Oriental learning; there was also an equally undeserved glorification of western culture and civilization. But these excesses were soon corrected when the national sentiment began to develop and when Indian universities began to cultivate rational and scientific studies of the Oriental classical languages. On the whole, the new system of education gave a great stimulus to the national mind of India, cut loose several of the bonds which hampered the progress of society, and led to a great renaissance in all walks of national life.

It has to be remembered, however, that even these great qualitative achievements had their own limitations. For instance, the education given was too literary; it prepared the student for hardly anything beyond employment in clerical or teaching professions; vocational education was not developed;

and the whole course was dominated by a rigid system of examinations and hampered by the use of English as a medium of instruction.

18. **Transfer of Education to Indian Control.** It was at this juncture that the reforms outlined in the Government of India Act, 1919, were introduced and the Department of Education (subject to certain reservations) was transferred to the control of Indian Ministers.

The controversy that arose at this time over the transfer of the Education Department to Indians is of some interest. The joint report of Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State, and Lord Chelmsford, the then Governor-General, formed the basis on which the reforms of 1919 were worked out. This report stated that the "guiding principle should be to include in the transferred list those departments which afford most opportunity for local knowledge and social service, those in which Indians have shown themselves to be keenly interested, those in which mistakes which may occur though serious would not be irremediable, and those which stand most in need of development".[1] In pursuance of this principle, it was but natural to expect that education would be classed as a transferred subject. But it is interesting to note that there was considerable opposition to the transfer of the *entire* control of education to Indians and that several difficulties were put forward. The Anglo-Indians and Europeans feared unnecessarily that their interests would not be safe in the hands of Indian ministers and claimed that the subject of *Anglo-Indian and European Education* should be treated as *Central* or *reserved*. The opinions of the Provincial Governments were greatly divided. The Bengal Government desired to reserve collegiate and European education; the United Provinces Government recommended the transfer of the whole subject of education, even though the official committee which advised that Government were divided in their opinion; the Punjab Government reserved its opinion regarding the transfer of higher education; the Government of Bihar and Orissa strongly opposed the transfer of secondary, technical and collegiate education; the Chief Commissioner of Assam opposed the transfer of collegiate education; the Madras Government opposed the transfer of the Education Department as a whole, and the Government of India broadly agreed with the

[1] *Montagu-Chelmsford Report*, para. 238.

Bengal view. But luckily for this country, however, better counsels prevailed, and the whole of the Education Department was transferred to Indian ministers subject to the following reservations:—

1. The Banaras Hindu University and such other new universities as may be declared to be all-India by the Governor-General-in-Council were excluded on the ground that these institutions were of an all-India character and had better be dealt with by the Government of India itself;

2. Colleges for Indian chiefs and educational institutions maintained by the Governor-General-in-Council for the benefit of members of His Majesty's Forces or other public servants, or their children were also excluded on the ground that these institutions ought to be under the direct control of the Government of India; and

3. The education of Anglo-Indians and Europeans was treated as a provincial but a *reserved* subject.

The authority to legislate on the following subjects was reserved for the central legislature, mainly with a view to enabling the Government of India to take suitable action on the report of the Calcutta University Commission:—

(*a*) Questions regarding the establishment, constitution and functions of new universities;
(*b*) Questions affecting the jurisdiction of any university outside its province; and
(*c*) Questions regarding the Calcutta University and the reorganization of secondary education in Bengal (for a period of five years only after the introduction of the Reforms).

As will be easily seen, these orders created a queer position by treating education as "partly all-India, partly reserved, partly transferred with limitations, and partly transferred without limitations."[1] They show clearly the difficulty with which a workable compromise was finally arrived at between the various conflicting opinions which have been mentioned above.

With this transfer of education to Indian control, the fifth period in the history of modern education in India begins and its main events will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

[1]*Ibid.*, para. 93.

Chapter Nine

EDUCATION UNDER DIARCHY

(1921-1937)

The Constitution introduced by the Government of India Act, 1919, is known as *Diarchy* or the rule of the two. Under this system, the sphere of the activities of a Provincial Government was divided into two parts—the *reserved* departments and the *transferred* departments. The Governor, who was the head of the Provincial Government was to administer the reserved departments with the help of some executive councillors and was to be responsible to the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs (through the Government of India) for the proper management of those departments; on the other hand, he was expected to administer the transferred departments with the help of ministers who were responsible, not to the Secretary of State, but to a Provincial Legislature which consisted of a large elected majority. It was on account of this division of the provincial executive into two parts that the system got its name of Diarchy, and it was under this unusual form of a political constitution that Indians first obtained the control of the Education Department. It is beyond the scope of this book to enter into an examination of the merits and demerits of this constitutional machinery. But the following narrative of some of its features will throw light on the difficulties under which the Indian ministers had to work.

2. **Financial Arrangements.** The most important handicap of Indian ministers was financial and hence the financial arrangements that were introduced by the Government of India Act of 1919 deserve a careful study. Prior to this date, all the revenues of India were divided into three parts—Central, Provincial and Divided. Certain sources of revenue such as Customs, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, were regarded as Central, that is to say, belonging exclusively to the Government of India; certain other sources of revenue such as Forests were treated as exclusively Provincial; and some sources of revenue were treated as *divided*, and their total yield was shared in a fixed ratio by the Government of India and the Provincial Government concerned.

The Reforms of 1919 proposed to make a clear-cut division of revenues between the Central and Provincial Governments by the abolition of *divided sources*—the most important of which were Land Revenue, Income-tax, Excise, Stamps and Irrigation. For reasons which it is beyond the scope of this book to consider, it was decided to treat all these sources, except income-tax, as Provincial revenue. This led to a serious loss to the Central Government and hence it was proposed that the Provincial Governments should make some yearly contributions to the Central Government until the latter had time to adjust its own budget. The contributions to be thus paid by the Provincial Governments were made a first charge on their revenues and the balance was to be utilised for the Provincial departments—both reserved and transferred.

Keen controversies arose as to how this allocation within the Province was to be made. One view was that the Executive Councillors who were in charge of the reserved departments and the Ministers who were in charge of the transferred departments should sit together under the chairmanship of the Governor and decide upon the allocation of revenues among all the departments of the Province according to the needs of each. This system came to be known as the *joint-purse* system. The opponents of this view advocated a different plan according to which a clear-cut division of the Provincial revenue was to be made between the two halves of Government and each half was to propose its own methods of additional taxation if the existing resources proved to be insufficient. This scheme came to be known as the *separate-purse* system. Ultimately, the former view prevailed and the system of joint-purse was adopted. As later events showed, this system of financial arrangements did not help the cause of the transferred departments in general and of education in particular. The finances of the Provincial Governments were largely crippled by the contributions payable to the Government of India; in industrial provinces like Bombay where the revenue from income-tax was a lucrative, elastic, and ever-improving source of income, the centralization of the income-tax hit the Provincial finances very hard; the portfolio of finance was a reserved subject and was held by an executive councillor. For these and other reasons, the Indian ministers were not able to obtain the funds essential for a large-scale expansion and reorganisation of education.

3. **Control over Services.** Another peculiar feature of the diarchical form of administration was the very limited control which the Indian ministers could exercise over the educational services of the country. In 1921, most of the key posts in the Education Department were held by members of the Indian Educational Service and they continued to be so held for most f the period under review. The question of the future rights nd privileges of the members of this service was one of the mportant issues raised at the time of the transfer of education to Indian control and formed the subject of a heated controversy. Ultimately, the decisions taken were based on the recommendations of the *Royal Commission on Superior Civil Services in India* (1923-24), popularly known as the Lee Commission, and may be summed up as follows:—

(*a*) The Lee Commission accepted the principle that the authority which is responsible for the administration of a particular subject should have the power of organising the services employed in the administration of that subject in such manner as it thinks best, and that the recruitment and ultimate control of that service should be vested in the hands of that authority. It, therefore, recommended that "for the purposes of local Governments, no further recruitment should be made to the All-India Services which operate in transferred fields. The personnel required for these branches of administration should in future be recruited by local Governments."[1] Government accepted this recommendation and the recruitment to the I.E.S. was discontinued in 1924.

(*b*) The existing rights and privileges of the I.E.S. were guaranteed. These included the following: (*i*) No post reserved in the past for the I.E.S. was to be filled by a Provincial officer so long as any number of the I.E.S. was eligible to hold it; (*ii*) No I.E.S. officer could be dismissed from his service by any authority other than the Secretary of State in Council; (*iii*) An I.E.S. officer had a right of appeal to that body, if he was adversely dealt with in important disciplinary matters; (*iv*) No order affecting his emoluments adversely, and no order of censure on him could be passed without the personal concurrence of the Governor; (*v*) His salary and pension, and sums payable to his dependents, were not subject to the vote of any Indian legislature; and (*vi*)

[1]*Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1922-27, Vol. I, p. 39.

provision was also made to permit those members of the All-India Services who so desired, to retire before they had completed the service ordinarily required for retiring on pension, and in such cases, they received a favourable consideration in the matter of their pension.

(*c*) Certain additional concessions were also granted to the European members of the I.E.S. to compensate them partly for the rise in the cost of living and partly for the changed conditions under which they had to work.

The position of the I.E.S. under the Reforms was thus anomalous and led to a good deal of ill-feeling on both sides. It is rather difficult to describe how this system actually came to work in practice as the available evidence is conflicting. On the one hand, it has been alleged that the Indian Education Service officers did not sympathise with the ideas of reconstruction that were being put forward by non-official Indian opinion; that it was difficult to carry out a policy with which the chief executive officers were not in sympathy; and that the privileges granted to the I.E.S. even amounted to a curtailment of the responsibility of the Indian ministers to their legislatures. On the other hand, the officials complained of frequent variations in policy and of interference with the day-to-day executive work of the administration. It is not possible to make any generalised statements on the subject, as the position must have varied from province to province and must have greatly depended upon the *personal equation* between the parties concerned. But on the whole, it may be inferred that the experiment did not succeed well and the necessity of harmony between the ministers and the executive came to be greatly felt. The problem, however, soon lost its interest because the European element in the I.E.S. was practically liquidated by 1936-37.

4. **Absence of Central Interest and Assistance.** The third feature of the diarchical form which created difficulties in the way of educational expansion and improvement was the sudden cessation of financial assistance from the Central Government. Reference has already been made to the large grants for education that the Central Government sanctioned between 1902 and 1918 and which led to so great an expansion or improvement in education. Such grants ought to have continued in this period also. But unfortunately, the financial arrangements under diarchy

made this impossible. As shown earlier in section 2, not only did the Central Government stop its grants to the Provinces, but the process was reversed and the Provinces were now required to make contributions to the Central Government. It is true, of course, that the contributions were discontinued in 1927-28. But that does not vitiate the statement that the advantage of central financial assistance was not available to education between 1921 and 1937.

Similarly, the keen interest that the Central Government showed in educational matters in the earlier period came suddenly to an end with the introduction of diarchy. Although education was regarded as a Provincial subject since 1870, the Government of India had continued to hold itself responsible for all educational policies and, as shown before, taken a very keen interest in education all along, especially between 1902 and 1921. But all this was changed in 1921. According to the Government of India Act, 1919, Education was not only a Provincial, but a transferred subject and constitutionally, the Centre was not to exercise any control over transferred departments. This direction was so interpreted in practice that the Government of India ceased even to take an interest in educational matters and refused to perform even those of its functions (such as that of co-ordination of Provincial activities) where an element of *control* is *not* involved. It is true that the annual and quinquennial reviews of education still continued to be published; but hardly anything else was done. A Central Advisory Board of Education was organised in 1920 with a view to assisting Provincial Governments with expert advice; but, in spite of its useful work, it was abolished in 1923 as a measure of retrenchment. For the same reasons, the Department of Education in the Government of India ceased to have an independent existence and was amalgamated with other departments. It is this absence of Central grants and interest in education that the Hartog Committee[1] described as the unfortunate *divorce* of the Government of India from education. Its observations on this point, with which most educationists would agree, are given below:—

> We are of opinion that the divorce of the Government of India from education has been unfortunate; and, holding as we do, that education is essentially a national service, we are of opinion that steps should be taken to consider anew the relation of the Central Government with this subject. We have suggested

[1] For details, see para. 7 *infra*.

that the Government of India should serve as a centre of educational information for the whole of India and as a means of co-ordinating the educational experience of the different provinces. But we regard the duties of the Central Government as going beyond that. We cannot accept the view that it should be entirely relieved of all responsibility for the attainment of universal primary education. It may be that some of the provinces, in spite of all efforts, will be unable to provide the funds necessary for that purpose, and the Government of India should, therefore, be constitutionally enabled to make good such financial deficiencies, in the interests of India as a whole.[1]

As a result of this recommendation, the Central Advisory Board of Education was revived in 1935. The position thus improved somewhat towards the close of the period; but it has to be admitted that the Government of India took little interest in educational matters in so far as the major part of this period is concerned, and that it gave no financial assistance whatsoever to the Provinces on account of their educational programmes.

5. **Other Difficulties.** The above discussion will show the main difficulties that were inherent in the constitutional arrangements under which Indians first obtained the control of the Education Departments. To these must be added certain difficulties created by outside circumstances. For instance, the Indian National Congress which had then grown to be the largest political party in India considered the Reforms of 1919 to be unsatisfactory, boycotted the Legislative Councils, and organised the Non-co-operation Movement, Similarly, a Civil Disobedience Movement was organised in 1930-32. These two political movements dominated the national life of the country throughout the period under review; and the attention of the public was, therefore, concentrated more on political than on educational problems.

To these political difficulties must be added the financial difficulties created by the world economic depression that began about 1930. One would have thought that the financial difficulties created by a world economic depression should have had little or no effect on *education*. Its importance as a nation-building department and the fact that it had been starved of its due share of public revenues for a long time in the past ought to have shielded it from the axe of retrenchment. Unfortunately, the events showed that the axe fell heavily on nation-building departments and more particularly so on education.

6. **Main Achievements of the Period.** With this background in view, let us now turn to the main achievements of this period.

[1] *Report*, p. 346.

The following statistics compare the educational results of 1936-37 with those of 1921-22:—

Type of Institution.	No. of Institutions.		No. of Scholars.	
	1921-22.	1936-37.	1921-22.	1936-37.
1. Universities ..	10	15	Figures not available.	9,697
2. Arts Colleges ..	165	271	45,418	86,273
3. Professional Colleges	64	75	13,662	20,645
4. Secondary Schools ..	7,530	13,056	11,06,803	22,87,872
5. Primary Schools ..	1,55,017	1,92,244	61,09,752	1,02,24,288
6. Special Schools ..	3,344	5,647	1,20,925	2,59,269
Total for Recognised Institutions ..	1,66,130	2,11,308	73,96,560	1,28,88,044
7. Unrecognised Institutions ..	16,322	16,647	4,22,165	5,01,530
Grand Total ..	1,82,452	2,27,955	78,18,725	1,33,89,574

N.B.—The figures are for British India only, exclusive of Burma.

The results, it will be seen, are surprisingly good, and even a little unexpected in view of the several difficulties mentioned above. To what causes are these results to be ascribed? How are we to explain the paradoxical phenomenon that there was an all-round and unprecedented increase in the number of schools and of scholars under instruction in spite of the fact that the expansion of Government efforts was substantially curtailed on account of financial stringency?

The explanation of this paradox is to be found in the great political and social awakening that took place in India during this period. The following two quotations from two documents of this period will give an insight into the causes that led to this remarkable expansion of education:—

A burst of enthusiasm swept children into school with unparalleled rapidity; an almost childlike faith in the value of education was implanted in the minds of people; parents were prepared to make almost any sacrifice for the education of their children; the seed of tolerance towards the less fortunate in life was begotten; ambitious and comprehensive programmes of development were formulated, which were calculated to fulfil the dreams of a literate India; the

Muslim community, long backward in education, pressed forward with eagerness to obliterate past deficiencies; enlightened women began to storm the citadel of old-time prejudice against the education of Indian girls; Government, with the full concurrence of Legislative Councils, poured out large sums of money on education, which would have been regarded as beyond the realm of practical politics ten years previously.[1]

Education has come to be regarded generally as a matter of primary national importance, an indispensable agency in the difficult task of 'nation building'. The attention given to it by legislative councils is both a symptom and evidence of this recognition. The transfer of the Department of Education to popular control, as represented by a Minister, has both increased the public interest in it and made it more sensitive to the currents of public needs and public opinion. Nor is it only the authorities and the well-to-do classes that have welcomed and encouraged the spread of education. Communities which had for long been educationally backward, like the Muhammadan community, have awakened to the need and possibilities of education for their children. The movement has spread to the depressed classes and even to the tribal aborigines, and has stirred a much larger proportion of the people than before to demand education as a right.[2]

These passages, on the whole, show the causes that led to the remarkable expansion during the period under review. 1929

7. The Hartog Committee Report and its Reactions. The rapid expansion of education that took place during this period of fifteen years threw into sharp relief some of its existing defects and also created new problems of its own. Consequently, the dissatisfaction against the educational system, to which we have referred while dealing with the early decades of this century, increased considerably both in official and non-official circles. For instance, official opinion held that the sudden rise in quantity had led to a great dilution of quality and that the educational system of India was largely ineffective and wasteful. This view was pointedly expressed in the report of the "Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission" (popularly known as the Hartog Committee,[3] after its Chairman, Sir Philip Hartog). This report is one of the most important documents of this period and deserves a careful perusal. The main findings and recommendations of the Committee will be discussed a little later

[1] *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1927-32, Vol. I, p. 3.

[2] *Report of the Hartog Committee*, p. 31.

[3] According to the Government of India Act of 1919, a Royal Commission on constitutional reforms was to be appointed in 1929. But owing to the continued agitation in India that the Reforms of 1919 were unsatisfactory, a Royal Commission, presided over by Sir John Simon, was appointed a little earlier in 1927. Under Section 84—A(3) of the Government of India Act of 1919, this Commission was asked to report on the growth of education in British India and was also authorised to appoint, if necessary, an auxiliary committee for the purpose. Accordingly, the Commission appointed this Committee presided over by Sir Philip Hartog, who had served for several years in India as a member of the Calcutta University Commission, and as the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University.

in the appropriate context. For the present, we quote below the following summary of its report:—

Our Review of the growth of education reveals many points of fundamental interest for the political future of India. The largely increased enrolment in primary schools indicates that the old time apathy of the masses is breaking down. There has been a social and political awakening of the women of India and an expressed demand on their behalf for education and social reform. There has been rapid progress in the numbers of Muhammadans receiving instruction. Efforts have been made to improve the condition of the depressed classes and those classes are beginning to respond to that effort and to assert their right to education. On all sides there has been a desire on the part of leaders of public opinion to understand and to grapple with the complex and difficult problems of education; and large additional expenditure has been proposed by Education Ministers, and willingly voted by the legislative councils. That is one side of the picture, but there is another.

Throughout the whole educational system there is waste and ineffectiveness. In the primary system, which from our point of view should be designed to produce literacy and the capacity to exercise an intelligent vote, the waste is appalling. So far as we can judge, the vast increase in numbers in primary schools produces no commensurate increase in literacy, for only a small proportion of those who are at the primary stage reach Class IV, in which the attainment of literacy may be expected. The wastage in the case of girls is even more serious than in the case of boys . . . .

n the sphere of secondary education there has been an advance in some respects, notably the average capacity of the body of teachers, in their improved conditions of service and training, and in the attempt to widen the general activities of school life. But here again there are grave defects of organisation. The whole system of secondary education is still dominated by the ideal that every boy who enters a secondary school should prepare himself for the university; and the immense numbers of failures at the Matriculation and in the university examinations indicate a great waste of effort. Such attempts as have been made to provide vocational and industrial training have little contact with the educational system and are, therefore, largely infructuous. Many of the universities and colleges show marked improvement in their methods of teaching and in the amount of original work which they have produced; and in some of them there is undoubtedly a better training for corporate life than formerly. But the theory that a university exists mainly, if not solely, to pass students through examinations still finds too large acceptance in India; and we wish that there were more signs that the universities regarded the training of broad-minded, tolerant and self-reliant citizens as one of their primary functions. They have been hampered in their work by being overcrowded with students who are not fitted by capacity for university education and of whom many would be far more likely to succeed in other careers.

We have no doubt that more and more money will be gladly voted for education by the legislatures of India but, as we have shown, the improvement and expansion of education do not depend merely on money. Money is no doubt essential, but even more essential is a well-directed policy carried out by effective and competent agencies, determined to eliminate waste of all kinds. We were asked to report on the organisation of education. At almost every point that organisation needs reconsideration and strengthening; and the relations of the bodies responsible for the organisation of education need readjustment.[1]

[1]*Report*, pp. 345-46.

The main conclusion of the report obviously is that quantity has been gained at the cost of quality and that the immediate need of the hour is to improve quality rather than strive to increase the numbers still further. Among official circles, this finding obtained an immediate and hearty welcome. It really meant a victory for the official view of qualitative reform which had dominated the scene between 1902 and 1921, and which had been set aside by the Indian Ministers between 1922 and 1927. They could now turn round and say, "We *told* you so."

Among non-official circles, however, the report was hotly criticised, particularly for two reasons. Firstly, the report implied a condemnation of the Indian control of education because it virtually said that the policy of expansion adopted by Indian Ministers was ill-advised. Indian opinion could not accept this viewpoint. The general feeling was that, in view of the difficulties inherent in the diarchical form of administration, it was a surprise that Indian Ministers could achieve even so much. Secondly, Indian opinion still felt that the first need of the situation was further expansion and the introduction of compulsory education. It was not *opposed* to qualitative reforms; but the type of the reforms it demanded was entirely different. For instance, if the Hartog Report bewailed the lowering of the standard of English, the non-official view complained against the domination of English throughout the school and college course, proposed that English should be taught as an optional subject, and even suggested the study of an Indian language, *e.g.*, Hindustani, as a national language in place of English. We need not enter at this stage into the details either of the non-official criticism of the educational system or of the proposals for reform. It will suffice our immediate purpose to state the main tendencies which nationalist thought in education displayed, *viz.*, the protest against the intellectual domination of the West; the desire to create a new educational system suited to national aspirations rather than to imitate Western models; the attempt to prove that good education is not necessarily costly; and the struggle to show how a good system of education could be developed within the resources of a poor country like India.

It will be seen that the cleavage between the official and non-official opinions was very wide. Had it been possible for the two sides to work together, the gulf might have been bridged. Unfortunately, the political situation in the country at the time

was not favourable for such an experiment. The Indian National Congress, which was the most powerful political organisation in the country, did not co-operate with Government in working out diarchy. Consequently, the *Indian* Ministers of this period could not really command the support of the people. They had to rely too often on official support with the result that, in spite of an *Indian* Minister at the top, it was really the I.E.S. that ultimately controlled all Governmental policies, especially after 1927. The truly *Indian* view remained outside Government and chose to work *outside* the official system rather than *inside* it. Consequently, in spite of the official transfer of education to Indian control, the *bureaucratic* and the *nationalist* views still continued to oppose each other as in the earlier period (1902-21). The conflict came really to an end only as late as in 1937 when Provincial Autonomy was introduced, the I.E.S. was mostly liquidated, and the Congress assumed office in most Provinces of India.

8. **University and Collegiate Education.** The period of sixteen years between 1921 and 1937 is one of great advance in University education. Its main events were the following:—

(*a*) *The Inter-University Board:* The need for the co-ordination of the work of Indian universities was greatly emphasized by the Calcutta University Commission. A similar recommendation was made by the Indian delegates to the Congress of the Universities of the Empire held in 1921. The Lytton Committee on Indian students in England also hoped that the Indian universities would constitute, at an early date, an Inter-University Board for the purpose of co-ordinating the courses of study in India and in securing uniformity in their recognition abroad. As a result of all these recommendations, the first All-India Conference of Indian Universities was held at Simla in 1924 and an Inter-University Board was established. The Board consists of representatives of all the Indian universities, and has been holding annual meetings at different university centres since 1925. It has done useful work in several directions and has now become an integral part of the organisation of Indian universities.

(*b*) *Incorporation of New Universities:* It will be recalled that the Government Resolution on Educational Policy dated 21st February, 1913, laid down the principle that every province should have a university of its own and that teaching universities should be established in as many centres as possible. Expansion

on these lines was carried on during the period under review and five new universities came to be incorporated. The Delhi University was established for the centrally administered province of Delhi, and the Nagpur University for the Central Provinces and Berar. The Andhra University was established for the Telugu-speaking areas of the Madras Presidency. The Agra University was incorporated as an affiliating university for the United Provinces, Central India and Gwalior. And finally, a unitary, teaching and mostly residential university was estab-lised at Chidambaram in the Madras Presidency and named after its munificent donor, Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar.

(*c*) *Changes in the Older Affiliating Universities:* Many of the older universities in India also underwent important changes during the period under review. The constitution of the University of Madras was considerably modified by the Amending Acts of 1923 and 1929, that of the Bombay University by the Act of 1928 and, finally, that of the Patna University by the Act of 1932. The object of all these Acts was mainly to improve the administration of the Universities and to enable them "to provide greater facilities for higher education and research". The University of Allahabad became a purely teaching body during the period under review and the Universities of Calcutta and the Punjab undertook extensive teaching work.

(*d*) *Expansion of University Education:* The number of University Departments and constituent or affiliated colleges increased from 207 in 1921-22 to 446 in 1936-37 and the number of students attending them from 66,258 to 1,26,228. Besides, a number of new faculties were opened and provision was made for the teaching of several new courses.

(*e*) *Provision for Research:* An outstanding feature of the period under review was the considerable provision for research that was made by all the Indian universities. During the period 1854 to 1902, the main task of the Indian universities was "not so much the encouragement of learning as the liberation of the Indian mind from the thraldom of old-world ideas, and the assimilation of all that is highest and best in the life, and thought, and character of the West".[1] In the period 1902-21, the univer-sities turned their attention to teaching and research though their actual achievements were not considerable. During the period

[1]*Gokhale's Speeches* (Edition 1920), p. 235.

1921-37, research work was organised by Indian universities on a far larger scale than ever before. This had been done by (*a*) maintenance of libraries and research departments, (*b*) institution of research degrees, (*c*) provision of scholarships and fellowships for research, and (*d*) university bulletins or publications. The Indian universities had thus already taken the field in the fight for the extension of the boundaries of knowledge and there was every reason to hope that they would soon begin to play a part that was worthy of the hoary traditions of this country.

(*f*) *Development of Inter-Collegiate and Inter-University Activities:* Another important feature of the period under review was the development of inter-collegiate sports and competitions which soon became a feature of almost all Indian universities. The Inter-University Board also began to arrange inter-university sports and tournaments. These activities created healthy contacts between university students and teachers in various parts of the country and formed an important aspect of the growing national life of India.

(*g*) *Provision of Military Training:* This period also witnessed the provision of military training through the organisation of University Training Corps. This step proved extremely popular and during the period under review there was a considerable demand for its extension and even for the introduction of compulsory military training. It is also worthy of note that some universities even introduced military science as a subject of instruction.

(*h*) *Residence and Health of Students:* Lastly, the period under review was also remarkable for the great attention paid to the problem of the residence and health of the students for the improvement of which all the universities took such measures as were necessary and practicable. Provision was very largely made for medical inspection and compulsory physical education was also introduced by several universities. Regulations regarding the provision, control and management of hostels were also framed; and although a good deal of work yet remained to be done, it was a happy sign that the subject received the close attention it deserves.

(*i*) *Intermediate Colleges:* One of the most important recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission was that the dividing line between school and university education

should be drawn at the Intermediate and *not* at the Matriculation examination. The Commission held the view that the intermediate classes of Indian universities were really a part of the high school course, and that students in these classes could be more effectively taught by school methods than by those which were generally followed at the universities. The Commission, therefore, recommended that a new type of institution called Intermediate Colleges should be set up by the addition of two classes to selected high schools; and that the university course should begin after the Intermediate examination and be spread over three years instead of two. With this end in view the Commission also recommended the establishment of a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education whose main duty would be to reorganise high school and intermediate education on the lines recommended by the Commission.[1]

This recommendation made a great impression on Indian educational thought, and for a time it appeared to be on the verge of universal acceptance. The University Acts that came to be passed in the early years after the report of the Calcutta University Commission excluded or proposed to exclude intermediate education from the sphere of universities. Thus the Dacca University Act, 1921, dissociated intermediate education from its sphere and placed it under the control of a non-university board under the authority of the Government of Bengal. In the same way, the University Acts of Allahabad, Lucknow, and Aligarh, also provided for the exclusion of intermediate education from the sphere of the universities and placed it under the control of two Boards of Secondary and Intermediate Education, one of which functioned within the territorial limits of the Allahabad and Lucknow Universities and the other within the jurisdiction of the Aligarh University. The Delhi University Act, 1922, also provided that the University should control intermediate education for a period of five years from the date of its foundation, or *until such further date as the Governor-General-in-Council may direct*. Similarly, the Madras University Act of 1923 provided that as soon as adequate arrangements were made for the supervision and control of institutions preparing candidates for the Intermediate examination, the Provincial Government might

[1]For details of the proposal, *vide* Chapters 31 and 32 of the *Report of the Calcutta University Commission*, Vol. IV.

exclude intermediate education from the purview of the University.[1]

Soon, however, a change came about and educational opinion began to turn round and oppose this proposal on the following grounds among others:—

(*i*) Intermediate colleges of the type recommended by the Calcutta University Commission had not justified the expectations formed of them and a better method of reform would be to improve the standard of instruction in high schools.

(*ii*) The intermediate classes are a source of income to the degree colleges which would be faced with a serious financial deficit if the intermediate classes are cut off from them.

(*iii*) It would not be possible for intermediate colleges to engage the services of such competent teachers as were generally available in degree colleges.

(*iv*) Both from financial and academic points of view, it was a sounder proposition to run the intermediate and the degree classes in one institution, for this device enabled the management to use the savings in intermediate classes to meet the deficit on degree courses and to use the services of able teachers of the degree classes for instruction in intermediate classes also.

(*v*) This recommendation of the Calcutta University Commission is inseparably connected with the proposal to lengthen the degree course to three years. But this latter reform will not be accepted by the public on account of the fact that it increases the cost of higher education and postpones the time at which a young man should begin his wage-earning career.

(*vi*) The separation of intermediate education from the sphere of the university would deprive it of the substantial income it now receives from the fees of Matriculation and Intermediate candidates. The Calcutta University Commission had foreseen this and recommended that Government should give an additional grant to the University in order to compensate it for this loss. In the present circumstances, however, Provincial Governments are not likely to be in a position to make additional grants to universities. The proposed reform, therefore, is likely to involve the universities in serious financial losses which cannot be made good from any other source.

[1] Sections 36 and 37 of the Act.

For these and other reasons, the question was very hotly debated during the years 1922 to 1926 and educational opinion gradually hardened against this reform. An indication of this changing outlook is provided by the University Acts passed since 1926. The Andhra University Act of 1926, the Bombay University Act of 1928, the Annamalai University Act of 1929, and the Patna University Act of 1932, definitely permit the universities to control intermediate education. Ordinarily, the control of the Delhi University over intermediate education ought to have ceased in 1927; but the period of its control is being extended from year to year and the Delhi University still continues to control intermediate education. There are no indications to show that the Madras University is even contemplating to give up control over intermediate education. Even in the United Provinces, where the experiment was tried in earnest, opinion turned against the recommendation and the Agra University Act of 1927 permitted the holding of intermediate classes in colleges affiliated to the University, although such classes had been placed under the control of a non-university body called "the Board of High School and Intermediate Education". These instances are enough to show how educational thought in India completely turned against the suggestion made by the Sadler Commission.

The Dacca University and three Provinces, *viz.*, United Provinces, the Punjab, and Bihar, took up the suggestion and gave it a trial. The Dacca University begins its work at the post-intermediate stage. The United Provinces created a Board of High School and Intermediate Education whose duties included (1) the conduct of high school and intermediate examinations, (2) prescription of the course of studies for the high school and intermediate stages, (3) granting of recognition to high schools and intermediate colleges, (4) periodical inspection of recognised institutions, etc. A large number of intermediate colleges came to be organised in this Province; but the complementary recommendation of the Commission to lengthen the degree course from two years to three has not been accepted at all. The Punjab organised intermediate colleges mainly with a view to preventing students from crowding into Lahore and providing opportunities of higher education at mofussil places where it was not possible to organise a first-grade college. Bihar seems to have tried a few colleges as an experimental measure. It will be

seen, therefore, that the experiment has not been fully tried anywhere.

The experience gained in these Provinces is worthy of note. The Bihar Report for 1931-32 observes that "these institutions are not likely to be very successful, because the better students will always, if they can, join the first-grade colleges at the first-year stage",[1] and the report for 1936-37 states that "the position, as stated by the last quinquennial review remains unchanged, *viz.*, that these institutions are never likely to be very successful".[2] The Punjab Report for 1936-37 remarks that "intermediate colleges have dwindled in popularity and have not been very successful as four-year institutions. Government cannot continue to spend sums of money every year on institutions which have not justified their existence, especially when funds are more badly needed for worthier and more urgent objects".[3] The report of the United Provinces alone is optimistic. It observes that "the product of the intermediate colleges is better grounded and more able to benefit from advanced instruction than the product of intermediate classes attached to degree colleges".[4]

The Hartog Committee considered the question but did not make any definite recommendation. It was also considered by the Inter-University Board and the conclusion reached was against the recommendation. Later on, the question was considered by the Central Advisory Board of Education which worked out a compromise and suggested that the junior intermediate class should form part of the school course and that the senior intermediate class should form part of the degree course. The suggestion was worth a trial, especially as it would have replaced the then existing anomalous system whereby intermediate classes were sometimes part of an institution which was in fact a school, sometimes part of a degree college, and sometimes an isolated institution providing a two years' course.[5] But it was not adopted anywhere during the period under review.

9. **The Hartog Committee on University Education.** While generally appreciating these advances, the Hartog Committee pointed out several weaknesses that had crept into the organ-

[1] p. 30.
[2] p. 38.
[3] *Government Resolution*, p. 2.
[4] *Report*, 1936-37, p. 40.
[5] *Quinquennial Review*, 1932-37, p. 72.

isation of university education. For instance, it observed that the universities were not producing leaders of society both from the qualitative as well as quantitative points of view ; there had been a definite lowering of standards due to indiscriminate admissions, poor work in secondary schools, and even competition between universities; the Honours Courses were not properly organised; libraries needed additions; corporate student life needed development; unemployment among university graduates was increasing; and that university extension work was just in its infancy. The Committee, therefore, strongly felt that, "in the interests of university education itself and still more in the interests of the lower educational institutions which feed the universities and of the classes from which university students are drawn, the time has come when all efforts should be concentrated on improving university work, on confining the university to its proper function of giving good advanced education to students who are fit to receive it, and, in fact, to making the university a more fruitful and less disappointing agency in the life of the community."[1]

10. **Secondary Education (1921-37).** Coming to the field of secondary education, we find that the picture is not so happy as in the field of university education. It is true that there was a great expansion in schools and pupils—even greater than at the collegiate stage; but the fundamental defects of the system, except in so far as medium of instruction and, to a lesser extent, the problem of teachers are concerned, remained unsolved even in 1937.

(*a*) *Expansion:* The expansion of secondary education achieved during the period will be seen from the following statistics for 1921-22 and 1936-37:—

	1921-22.	1936-37.
No. of Recognised Secondary Schools ..	7,530	13,056
No. of Scholars in Recognised Secondary Schools	11,06,803	22,87,872

(Figures for British India only, excluding Burma.)

It should be remembered, however, that these figures are subject to all those limitations of statistical comparison which

[1]*Report*, p. 137.

were pointed out in Chapter VI and they cannot, therefore, be taken as giving an *exact* picture of the extent of secondary education as it was either in 1921-22 or in 1936-37; the defects, however, are common to both the years and may be ignored for purposes of comparison. The statistics show unmistakably the great expansion of secondary education that took place during the period.

This rapid expansion was due to several causes, the more important of which were the awakening among the people, the opening of secondary schools in semi-urban or rural areas, and the special efforts made to spread higher education among the less advanced sections of the population. As pointed out in an earlier section, the period under review witnessed a great awakening among the people. This created a desire for the acquisition of higher education; and, consequently, even those sections of the population which had not hitherto manifested any strong desire for higher education now began to send their children to secondary schools in large numbers.

Secondly, a large number of new secondary schools were opened during this period in mofussil towns and bigger villages by enterprising individuals and associations. The causes that led to the establishment of such schools were several. Very often they were either a local patriotism or a desire on the part of parents to give secondary education to their children in their own locality rather than to send them to distant towns at a tender age. Sometimes schools were opened by social workers who wanted to spread higher education to rural and backward areas. Now and then a new school came to be established as a result of unhappy circumstances such as factions in an older school leading to a split among the workers. There were also cases in which the growing unemployment among the educated classes led some to found a school for the simple reason that they could not cultivate any other vocation in life. But instances of the latter types were indeed few, and it may be stated that the vast majority of the new secondary schools of this period belonged to the first two categories described above.

This opening of new secondary schools in the smaller towns, and even in bigger villages, was a veritable boon to the parents in the rural areas. Formerly, they had to send their children to the bigger towns and cities if they desired to give them the benefit of secondary education. This was a costly affair;

besides, as already pointed out, parents were generally unwilling to send their children to the bigger towns and cities at a very tender age for fear of exposing them to all the temptations of a city life. When, however, secondary schools came to be opened in rural or semi-urban areas, the villages took immediate advantage of the opportunity; and this period, therefore, witnessed a great increase in the enrolment of pupils from rural areas.

Lastly, this rise was partly due to the extensive efforts that were made in this period to spread higher education among women and the less advanced classes of the population. These may be grouped under three categories :—

(*i*) Attempts made by Government such as the opening of special institutions, reservation of accommodation in Government institutions, awards of scholarships and free studentships, preferential recruitment in Government services, etc.;

(*ii*) Attempts made by the communities themselves to organise funds for awarding scholarships, maintenance of hostels, etc.; and

(*iii*) Attempts made by philanthropic or social service organisations.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that most of this expansion was due to private enterprise.

(*b*) *Medium of Instruction:* The second important achievement of the period under review was the large scale adoption of the modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the secondary stage. So far as orders on paper are concerned, the mother-tongue could be said to have been exclusively adopted as the medium of instruction at the secondary stage; but "theory conflicted with practice" and for several reasons the use of English as a medium of instruction was not completely abandoned. Some of these reasons are given below :—

(*i*) The use of English as a medium of instruction at the University stage, coupled with the fact that the secondary course is merely an appendage of the University course and not a self-contained unit as it ought to have been, still led several managers of schools to adopt English as a medium of instruction.

(*ii*) Parents as well as pupils desired a proficiency in English because the medium of examination in Government Competitive

Examinations still continued to be English and a person with a good command of English generally had a greater chance of success in such examinations and in securing employment under Government.

(*iii*) In multi-lingual areas where it was not possible, on financial grounds, to give instruction through all languages, English was often adopted as a medium of instruction.

(*iv*) In the earlier stages of the experiment, such difficulties as the absence of a scientific terminology, lack of suitable text-books and competent teachers, etc., were made much of. Even though these complaints had ceased to be of much practical importance, they were still used as a reason for the continued use of English.

(*v*) In Hindi-Urdu areas—such as the United Provinces—difficulties of *script* were found to be more important than those of *language*. For instance, there was a departmental order in the United Provinces, that the Indian language used for instruction must be such as can be understood by both Hindi and Urdu speaking pupils. In carrying this out, the difficulties of script arose and blackboard work had to be carried out in Devanagari and Urdu, or Roman scripts. The experiment of using a language commonly understood by Hindi and Urdu speaking pupils has, however, its practical advantages and there is a growing belief that it may lead to the development of a "mixed language...... (which) will make a better language than Sanscritised Hindi or Persianised Urdu", and it is even reported that "a shapely and vigorously language is being evolved from the non-descript jargon which head-masters complained of at first."[1]

It may thus be stated that by the year 1937, the question of the medium of instruction at the secondary stage had almost ceased to exist as a *problem*. It is true that certain difficulties in the way of a complete victory still remained. But it was realised that they were not insurmountable. The most formidable obstacle was the use of English as the medium at the University stage. Hence the attention of educationists now came to be directed to such problems as that of the medium of instruction at the University, the development of a national language for India, and the creation of a uniform scientific terminology.

[1]*D. P. I.'s Report* (U. P.), 1927-32, p. 42.

(*c*) *Problems of Teachers in Secondary Schools:* The movement that had begun in the earlier period in favour of training secondary teachers continued with greater force during the period under review. In 1936-37, there were 15 institutions for training teachers for secondary (English) schools with an enrolment of 1,488 which included 147 women.

The main feature of this period, however, is not the improvement in the training of secondary teachers but the greater attention that now came to be paid to the salaries and conditions of service of teachers in private schools which had, by this time, expanded and multiplied to a very great extent. The salaries of these teachers were low because the resources of the private secondary schools were far from satisfactory. The conditions of service also left a good deal to be desired and, except in rare instances, there was neither any security of tenure nor any provision for old age. These difficulties of teachers soon attracted notice and it was realised that the efficiency of teaching in secondary schools could not be improved unless the secondary teachers were assured of a fair remuneration and decent conditions of service. The following brief *résumé* of the main events in some provinces will show the nature of the attempts made in this period to improve the pay and conditions of service in non-Government secondary schools.

(*a*) *United Provinces.*—A Provident Fund Scheme for teachers in aided schools was introduced in 1922. Similarly, an attempt was made to give security of service to teachers in private schools by making a rule to the effect that an agreement in a prescribed form must be entered into between every permanent teacher (engaged after 1929) and the management.

(*b*) In *Bihar and Orissa*, the pay and prospects of teachers in aided secondary schools were improved by a revision of the rules of grant-in-aid in 1923-24 and again in 1925-26. At the same time, a system of provident fund was also introduced for all the aided secondary schools. During the next quinquennium, 1927-32, an attempt was made to give security of tenure to teachers in aided schools by providing an appeal to the Educational Inspectors in the case of high school teachers dismissed with or without notice.

(*c*) In *Madras*, a special grant of a lakh of rupees a year was sanctioned in the quinquennium 1922-27 for the improvement of the pay of teachers in aided secondary schools. In 1923, a provident fund scheme was introduced in all recognised secondary schools.

(*d*) In *Bengal*, a special recurring annual grant of Rs. 3 lakhs was sanctioned in 1925-26 for the improvement of pay of teachers in aided secondary schools and a general provident fund scheme for the whole province was sanctioned at the end of the quinquennium 1922-27. Recognition was refused to proprietary schools, as the conditions of service in these were generally unsatisfactory. All high schools were required to have a regularly constituted managing body according to the 'school code' framed by the University, which also created an

Arbitration Board to which teachers were privileged to appeal against the decision of managing committees.

(*e*) In the *Punjab*, the institution of a provident fund was made compulsory on all aided secondary schools in the quinquennium 1922-27.

(*f*) In *Assam*, a special grant of Rs. 20,000, which was to rise annually by Rs. 5,000 till it reached Rs. 45,000, was sanctioned for improving the pay of teachers in aided high schools.

(*g*) In *Bombay*, though no action had been taken, the problem was being discussed widely and the attention of Government had been drawn to its urgency.

(*d*) *Provision of Vocational Courses:* The problem of providing vocational education at the secondary stage became even more important and complicated in this period than in the preceding one. This was due to three causes: Firstly, the expansion of secondary education led to the enrolment of many a pupil who was not quite "at home" in the almost exclusively literary education that was offered in the average secondary school and who would have been able to attain a better self-expression through the pursuit of some vocational skill; secondly, the opening of a large number of secondary schools in rural areas created a problem which did not exist before, *viz.*, the adaptation of the secondary school to rural needs and environment; and finally, the large increase in the number of girls' secondary schools created the problem of devising special courses suited to their requirements. Unfortunately, no satisfactory solution of the problem could be evolved. The Government of India, therefore, requested His Majesty's Government to send some experts to India in order to study the problem and make recommendations. Accordingly, Messrs. Wood and Abbot came to India and after a detailed enquiry, submitted an important report on the proper organisation of vocational education in India.

11. The Hartog Committee on Secondary Education. The Hartog Committee's survey of secondary education, like that of universities, is not comprehensive and stresses only a few major defects and suggests remedies. It found that the whole of the secondary course was dominated by the matriculation examination; that most of the pupils sought the narrow path that led, through the matriculation, to the universities; and that the percentage of failures at the matriculation examinations was very large in several cases. This involved the waste of time, effort, and money of the pupils and was, in the opinion of the Committee, mainly due to (*a*) laxness of promotions in the secondary schools from class to class and (*b*) the absence of a reasonable

selective system which would never have permitted very many of the pupils, then reported to be reading at the high school stage, to advance so far on the road to collegiate education. In order to remove these and other evils of the system of secondary education the Committee made the following recommendations:—

(*a*) *Diverting Pupils to Non-literary Pursuits:* With a view to reducing the domination of the matriculation, the Committee recommend that:—

(*i*) The retention in the middle vernacular schools of more of the boys intended for rural pursuits, accompanied by the introduction of a more diversified curriculum in those schools;

(*ii*) The diversion of more boys to industrial and commercial careers at the end of the middle stage, for which provision should be made by alternative courses in that stage, preparatory to special instruction in technical and industrial schools.[1]

(*b*) *Improvement in the Training and Service Conditions of Secondary Teachers:* Even more important was the recommendation of the Committee that something should be done to improve the service conditions of secondary teachers. While appreciating the improvement that had been brought about in the training of secondary teachers since 1904, the Committee, felt that a good deal of further action was still necessary. It said:—

As in the case of primary schools, the average quality of the teacher and of the teaching depends to a considerable extent on the pay and conditions of service. The best type of men cannot be attracted to the profession so long as these remain unsatisfactory and only too frequently the teachers have no heart in their work. In no province is the pay of the teacher sufficient to give him the status which his work demands and in some provinces, *e.g.*, Bengal and Bihar, the pay of the teacher is often woefully low. The conditions of service, though still far from satisfactory, have improved in recent years and provident fund and pension schemes have been widely introduced. But the most serious difficulty facing the teacher in the great majority of privately managed schools and in some managed by local bodies, is insecurity of tenure. Generally, no contracts or agreements are made and teachers are frequently sent away at short notice. We have had it in evidence that some schools even make it a practice to recruit teachers temporarily for nine months, thus avoiding the payment of vacation salaries, the payment of increments and the necessity for appointing permanent trained men. The salaries of teachers are not infrequently paid very irregularly and compulsory levies for school purposes are sometimes made from the teachers' slender earnings. In spite of what has been done in recent years, the conditions of service of the teacher must be greatly altered before the quality of secondary education can become satisfactory.[2]

12. **Primary Education.** The most important event of the history of Indian education under diarchy is the rapid development of mass education. We have seen in Chapter VIII that the slow

[1] *Report*, p. 107.

[2] *Report*, pp. 117-18.

advance of mass education was one of the weakest links in the modern educational system of India, and that Government policy had often been criticised on that account. Indian public opinion had shown a very keen interest in mass education and the liquidation of illiteracy and it was, therefore, generally expected that the Indian Ministers would try their best to grapple with the problem of universal, free, and compulsory, primary education. This, in fact, they did; and the following brief notes will show how this war against illiteracy was generally planned.

(*a*) *Primary Education Acts:* The most important event of the decade 1917-27 was the passing of Compulsory Education Acts in most of the provinces of British India. Some of these Acts, it is true, were passed prior to the transfer of the Education Department to Indian Ministers. But, as action on most of them began to be taken only during the period under review, more appropriately, their study forms part of the development of education under diarchy.

The following table shows the details regarding the various provincial Acts of compulsory education as they were in force at the end of this period:—

Year.	Province.	Name of the Act.	Compulsion whether for Boys or Girls.	Whether applicable to Rural or Urban Areas.
1919	Punjab	Primary Education Act	Boys	Both
"	United Provinces	"	Both	Municipal
"	Bengal	"	Boys (extended to girls by an amendment in 1932)	"
"	Bihar and Orissa	"	Boys	Both
1920	Bombay	City of Bombay P. E. Act	Both	Applicable to City of Bombay only
"	Central Provinces	P. E. Act	"	Both
"	Madras	Elementary Education Act	"	"
1923	Bombay	P. E. Act	"	Applicable to the whole of the Province except Bombay City
1926	Assam	"	"	Both
"	United Provinces	District Boards P. E. Act	"	To rural areas only
1930	Bengal	Bengal (Rural) P. E. Act	"	"

A detailed study of each individual Act is beyond the scope of this book. But the following comments on their main features will be found interesting:—

(*i*) These Acts transferred large powers of administration and control over primary education to the local authorities, *i.e.*, to the local self-government institutions which were entrusted with the responsibility of making adequate provision for primary education in their areas.

(*ii*) All the Acts make it a duty of the local authorities to study the needs of their areas and to prepare schemes for the expansion and development of primary education within their jurisdiction.

(*iii*) In all the Acts, the initiative in the matter of introducing compulsion is left with the local authorities; and in some Acts, as in Bombay, power is reserved to Government in certain circumstances, to take the initiative in introducing and enforcing compulsory education.

(*iv*) In all provinces, the local authorities are given the power to levy an educational cess in order to meet their own share of the cost of providing primary education, whether on a compulsory or on a voluntary basis.

(*v*) In all provinces, Government undertakes to assist the local authorities financially in order to enable them to introduce compulsory education.

(*vi*) The age of compulsion for elementary education varies from province to province. In provinces with a four years' course, it is generally fixed at 6 to 10 except in the Punjab where the optional age-period of 7 to 11 is also provided; on the other hand, in provinces with a five years' course, the age of compulsion is generally fixed at 6 to 11.

(*vii*) The Acts make provision for prosecuting parents for failure to send their children to school, and all Acts, except that of Madras, penalise the employment of children within the age-period of compulsion in areas where compulsory education is enforced.

The above analysis will show that the view taken in most of the provinces was that primary education is a subject of local administration and responsibility. It was in pursuance of this

view only that Provincial Governments liberalised the constitution of local self-government institutions, gave them additional powers of taxation, and made them responsible for the introduction and enforcement of compulsory primary education. This devolution of authority in primary education to local self-government institutions is the second forward step in the development of such institutions—the first having been initiated by Lord Ripon—and forms the most important characteristic of the period under review.

(*b*) *Achievements of the Period* 1922-27 : As may be easily anticipated the expansion of primary education was very rapid in the quinquennium 1922-27. The following statistics tell their own tale:—

TABLE I

General Results

	1921-22.	1926-27.
1. Number of Primary Schools ..	1,55,017	1,84,829
2. Number of Pupils in Primary Schools	61,09,752	80,17,923
3. Expenditure on Primary Education (direct)	Rs. 4,94,69,080	Rs. 6,75,14,802

TABLE II

Areas under Compulsion

Province.	Municipalities and Urban Areas.	District Boards and Rural Areas.
Madras	21	3
Bombay	6	..
United Provinces	25	..
Punjab	57	1,499
Bihar and Orissa	1	3
Central Provinces	3	66
Delhi	1	..
Total ..	114	1,571

N.B.—The rural areas in the Punjab are the areas served by individual schools.

Commenting on these results, the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1922-27, observes:—

The causes for this accelerated expansion are not far to seek. Economic conditions have improved, the finances of the provinces have expanded, post-war difficulties have largely disappeared, public interest has been directed towards

primary and mass education, programmes of educational expansion have been undertaken both under and outside of the Elementary Education Acts in the various provinces, a large number of new schools have been opened, unrecognised schools have been recognised, and the number of areas in which compulsion has been introduced has increased.[1]

(*c*) *The Report of the Hartog Committee:* The next quinquennium, however, witnessed a slackening of the pace of expansion due mainly to two causes: the first was the economic depression to which we have already referred. This led to the abandonment of most of the schemes of expansion and even necessitated large cuts in existing expenditure. The second cause of the slackening was the recommendation of the Hartog Committee to the effect that Government should adopt a policy of consolidation rather than of expansion,—a recommendation that came generally to dominate official viewpoint during the decade 1927-37.

To begin with, the Committee pointed out that there were *special difficulties in the path of the progress of primary education* such as the following:

(*i*) Primary education in India is essentially a *rural problem* as 87 per cent of the population lives in villages ;

(*ii*) Poverty, illiteracy, and conservatism of the average parent which make him slow to appreciate the advantages of education, unwilling to send his children to a school or to keep them there for a sufficiently long period, and unable to make the financial sacrifices which are necessary to secure good education;

(*iii*) Low density of population coupled very often with scantiness of the means of communication, physical obstacles as in hilly areas or deltas, and unfavourable climatic conditions;

(*iv*) Existence of large tracts of backward areas;

(*v*) Irregularity of attendance due to causes mentioned in (*b*) above and also to epidemic and seasonal illness; and

(*vi*) Difficulties created by barriers of caste, and by religious, communal and linguistic differences.

The Committee then drew attention to the rapid growth in the number of primary schools and the pupils attending them but came to the conclusion that the position was not as rosy as the figures would lead one to infer. The Committee found *that there was a good deal of waste in the system* which acted as a set-off

[1] pp. 115-16.

against the progress in numbers. In the opinion of the Committee, the main causes of this waste were (*a*) wastage and stagnation; (*b*) relapse into illiteracy; (*c*) absence of systematic efforts at adult education; (*d*) inadequate provision, unsatisfactory distribution, and inadequate utilisation of existing schools; large numbers of single-teacher schools; existence of several incomplete schools; ephemeral character of many primary schools; unsuitable curriculum; ineffective teaching; and inadequacy of inspecting staff. The Committee, therefore, definitely condemned a policy of *hasty expansion* and recommended concentration on *consolidation and improvement*. Its main recommendations may be briefly summarised as under:—

(*i*) A policy of consolidation should be adopted in preference to one of diffusion.

(*ii*) The minimum duration of the primary course should be of four years.

(*iii*) The standard of the general education of primary teachers should be raised; the training course should be sufficiently long; the training institutions for primary teachers should be adequately staffed and made more efficient; refresher courses and conferences of primary teachers must be frequently arranged; and the remuneration and conditions of service of primary teachers should be such as will enable the profession to attract and retain men of good quality.

(*iv*) The curriculum of primary schools should be liberalised.

(*v*) School hours and school holidays should be adjusted to seasonal and local requirements.

(*vi*) Special attention should be given to the lowest class in primary schools and determined efforts should be made to reduce the large extent of stagnation and wastage that prevail therein.

(*vii*) Rural uplift work should be undertaken and centred in the school.

(*viii*) The devolution of authority in primary education to local bodies has been excessive. Primary education is a subject of national importance and hence it is the duty of Government to assume necessary powers of control and improve the efficiency of administration.

(*ix*) The inspecting staff of Government should be considerably strengthened.

(x) No hasty attempts should be made to introduce compulsion but attention should be directed to a careful preparation of the ground.

Criticism of the Hartog Committee's Report : The Official View: This report was warmly received in official circles and came to dominate official thought throughout the period under review. A study of the reports of the provincial Directors of Public Instruction of this period shows a general uniformity of ideas; such defects as the prevalence of wastage and stagnation, extreme devolution of authority to local bodies, inadequacy of the inspecting staff, are found to be frequently emphasized. The official view was still predominantly in favour of the policy of consolidation which had been laid down by the Government Resolution of 1913. Out of deference to the strong public opinion, it had temporarily accepted the policy of expansion which thus held the field in the quinquennium 1922-27. The Report of the Hartog Committee, however, came as a triumph to the official view; for it attempted to show that a policy of expansion had proved ineffective and wasteful and that a policy of consolidation alone was suited to Indian conditions.

A brief survey of the provincial policies of this period will be found very interesting. For instance, there was a protest from many quarters "against a reckless and impetuous multiplication of primary schools".[1] The Central Provinces report for 1927-32 takes consolation in the thought that "inefficient schools have been removed from the struggle......several schools with comparatively small enrolment have been closed".[2] The Bihar and Orissa report for 1927-32 states that in the earlier years of the quinquennium, "many boards and individuals opened schools more rapidly than was prudent"[3] and adds that the effects of retrenchment were *salutary* as it led to the disappearance of unaided institutions. In Bombay, the primary schools increased by a *meagre* 797 in five years (1927-32)—an event on which the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India felt called upon to observe that it was doubtful "whether, with its depleted finances, this province can afford to multiply its primary schools at so *rapid* a pace, especially when *other*

[1] *Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, p. 4.

[2] p. 42.

[3] p. 51.

aspects of education need prior attention."[1] In Madras, the number of primary schools decreased from 46,389 in 1927 to 41,141 in 1937 and the Director observed that "the policy of expansion which was in full swing between 1920 and 1930, countenanced the establishment of a large number of inefficient, uneconomic and superfluous schools which proved worse than useless. This policy of expansion has led to the recent reaction in favour of concentration and elimination, which is partly responsible for the reduction in the number of elementary schools."[2] We need not multiply instances. Those given above will show how the report of the Hartog Committee came to dominate the official viewpoint during this period.

Criticism of the Hartog Committee's Report: The Non-Official View: On the other hand, the non-official view, in general, gave a cold and hostile reception to the Hartog Committee's Report. The main points in this criticism may be summarised as under:—

(*i*) The non-official opinion was generally in favour of expansion, and a very rapid expansion at that. It was pointed out that the rate of expansion of mass literacy in India was extremely slow; that the percentage of literacy had increased from 3·5 in 1881 to only 8·0 in 1931—an increase of less than one per cent in every decade; that the rate of increase of literacy had not kept pace with the growth of population—which increased at one per cent every year; that the increase in the number of illiterates was far greater than the increase in the number of literates; "that education must pour and not trickle"; and that unless a definite programme for the liquidation of illiteracy was drawn up and carried out, the question of mass education in India would never be solved.

(*ii*) Secondly, the non-official view did not accept the opinion of the Committee that *quality* must have prior claim over *quantity*. Whatever the merits of this view in the field of secondary or university education, it was urged that in a country like India with 92 per cent of its population still illiterate, the first object of Government policy should be to banish illiteracy from the land; and that the quality of education was a matter that should come *after* illiteracy had been liquidated.

[1]*Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, p. 128 (Italics ours).
[2]*Report for* 1932-37, p. 86.

(*iii*) Thirdly, the validity of several of the conclusions drawn up by the Committee was keenly contested. For instance, it was pointed out that the extent of wastage was greatly exaggerated by the Committee and that the method adopted by it for the evaluation of wastage was statistically defective; that the conclusion of the Committee that a large percentage of the pupils who attain literacy in schools lapse into illiteracy at a later date is logically inaccurate, etc.

These criticisms which are but a few among those that were actually offered show how the gulf between official and non-official views had widened during the period under review. In 1937, therefore, India stood almost at the parting of the ways. It had to make its choice between these two views and accept either a policy of rapid expansion involving, if necessary, a loss of quality or one of a deliberate attempt to improve quality necessarily involving a curtailment of a programme of expansion.

(*d*) *Achievements of the Period* 1927-37*:* The combined effect of the lead given by the Hartog Committee and of the financial stringency caused by the world economic depression was that primary education made comparatively little progress in the period between 1927 and 1937. Compare the following statistics:—

	1921-22.	1926-27.	1931-32.	1936-37.
1. No. of recognised Primary Schools ..	1,55,017	1,84,829	1,96,708	1,92,244
2. No. of pupils in above	61,09,752	80,17,923	91,62,450	102,24,288
3. Total direct expenditure on primary education ..	Rs. 4,94,69,080	Rs. 6,75,14,802	Rs. 7,87,95,236	Rs. 8,13,38,015

It will be seen that the increase of pupils under instruction in the ten years between 1927 and 1937 is only slightly more than that in the quinquennium 1922-27; the increase in the number of schools is only 7,415 while that in the preceding quinquennium was 29,812; and the increase in expenditure is only about Rs. 138 lakhs, while that in the earlier quinquennium was about Rs. 181 lakhs. Even towards this small increase, Government contribution was smaller than that of the non-Government sources.

Similarly, we find that no serious attempts were made either to introduce compulsion extensively or to enforce it rigidly. The position of areas under compulsion in 1936-37 may be summarised as under:—

Province.	Urban Areas.	Rural Areas.	No. of villages in Rural Areas under compulsion.
Madras	27	7	104
Bombay	9	1	143
Bengal	1	..	..
United Provinces	36	25	1,224
Punjab	63	2,981	10,450
Bihar	1	1	1
Central Provinces and Berar	27	8	508
Sind	1	1	613
Orissa	1	1	14
Delhi	1	9	15
Total	167	3,034	13,072

The following special features of the situation may be noted:—

(*i*) Much greater progress has been made in urban areas than in rural ones. This is due to two causes; firstly, the conditions in urban areas are more favourable to the introduction of compulsion; and secondly, both Government and the local authorities are tempted to take up schemes in urban areas because the *additional* cost of compulsion in these areas is far less than that of introducing compulsion in rural ones.

(*ii*) Except in the Punjab, the progress of compulsion in rural areas has been extremely slow. Out of the five lakhs of villages in India, only about 13,072 villages have been brought under compulsion. Out of these, as many as 10,450 were in the Punjab alone. The problem of compulsion is mainly a rural problem and hardly any adequate attempt has yet been made to solve it.

(*iii*) Compulsion is needed more for girls than for boys; and yet more boys have been brought under compulsion than girls. In some provinces, *e.g.*, the Punjab, compulsion can be applied only to boys; in other provinces, even though the law permits the application of compulsion to girls, most of the compulsory schemes were applicable only to boys.

(*iv*) The rate of extension of compulsion has been very slow. At the rate of progress seen in this period, it would take India nearly 500 years to introduce universal compulsion. In Bombay, for example, the Primary Education Act of 1923 contemplated the introduction of universal compulsion in ten years. But even in 1937, fourteen years after the passing of the Act, only 3 per cent of the population was brought under compulsion. (The City of Bombay which is not governed by the above Act has been excluded in these calculations.)

(*v*) Even in the few areas where compulsion has been introduced, its enforcement was far from satisfactory. The enrolment of children was not appreciable, and generally only about 60 to 80 per cent of the total number of the children of school-going age were enrolled. The average attendance was low and hardly better than in schools where no compulsion existed. Wastage in compulsory areas was as bad as in non-compulsory ones. The local authorities were unwilling to prosecute defaulting parents and very few prosecutions were launched under the Compulsory Education Acts. To sum up, it may be said that compulsion was not enforced in a rigid manner and that it existed more or less on paper only.

The official attempts, therefore, were concentrated throughout the period on qualitative improvement. The success achieved in this direction was not, however, remarkable. There was some improvement in the training of teachers—the percentage of trained teachers rising from 44 in 1927 to 57 in 1937. There were also several changes in the curriculum of training institutions mainly with a view to enabling teachers to co-ordinate instruction with rural life and environment. In some provinces, an attempt was also made to recruit "more suitable" candidates for training institutions.

This is all that can be said by way of achievements. The rest of the record is hardly one of success. Even at the end of the period, official reports still pointed out the very large prevalence of wastage and stagnation; hardly any attempt was made to provide reading rooms and libraries with a view to altering the environment that leads to lapse into illiteracy; the provision of the inspecting staff was even more inadequate at the end of the period, because "the expansion of education, particularly that of girls, had out-distanced the provision of additional

inspectors;"[1] the single-teacher schools still dominated the situation, as indeed they threaten to do to the end of time; and the salaries of primary teachers deteriorated in Bombay—where they were the highest—and did not improve in other provinces. All things considered, it may be concluded that the improvement in quality was not appreciable and was by no means an adequate compensation for the loss in quantity.

13. **The Education Department.** The character and organisation of the Departments of Education underwent a complete change during the period under review. As stated already, fresh recruitment to the I.E.S. was discontinued in 1924. But owing to financial stringency and the wave of retrenchment that started in 1922, the creation of a new Provincial Service (Class I) to take its place took a long time in most provinces. The delay was also partly due to the fact that the I.E.S. 'took an unconscionable time in dying',[2] as all the existing incumbents were continued in office with full protection for their rights and privileges. In 1929, the Hartog Committee found that the progressive extinction of the Indian Educational Service, accompanied by the failure to reconstitute the provincial services had been disastrous to the organisation of Indian education, and recommended that the reconstitution of the provincial educational services could brook no further delay.[3] This made the Provincial Governments immediately active and by 1936-37, a Provincial Service (Class I) had been created in all Provinces except Madras and the North-West Frontier.

The inadequacy of inspecting staff was another frequent cause of complaint in this period. On the one hand, the number of educational institutions, particularly those under private management, was increasing very fast. On the other hand, financial stringency (coupled with the view that large 'overhead expenditure' on direction and inspection was unnecessary) was preventing a corresponding increase in inspecting establishment. This often resulted in educational inefficiency.

But by far the more important controversy of this period referred to the relations of the Department to primary education. Prior to 1921, the Education Departments exercised a considerable amount of control over primary education although the subject

[1] *Progress of Education in India*, 1932-37, p. 34.

[2] *Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, p. 47.

[3] *Report*, p. 347.

was, in theory at least, transferred to local bodies. But, as shown earlier in this chapter, the Primary Education Acts passed between 1919 and 1930, transferred large powers of control to local bodies with the result that the Department had hardly any say in the administration of local bodies. It almost seemed that no sooner did the Indian Ministers obtain authority over education, than they proceeded straight to divest themselves of the largest and the most valuable part of that authority by transferring primary education to local bodies. The wisdom and the results of this step became the subject of a controversy very early in this period. The Hartog Committee examined it in detail and pronounced against it. The Committee, it is true, did not think that the administration of primary education by local bodies was wrong in principle. Rather, it felt that such administration would even be desirable. All the same, it did feel that there had been an excessive devolution of authority to local bodies. Moreover, it carefully surveyed the manner in which the local bodies had used the new powers delegated to them and came to the conclusion that, on the whole, they had not been properly exercised. In view of all the facts of the case, therefore, the Committee was of opinion that, in the interests of primary education, it was absolutely essential to strengthen the position of the Department and to retransfer to it some of the powers that had been devolved on local authorities in recent years. It said:—

> We have not suggested, nor do we suggest that the responsibilities of Ministers in the provinces should be reduced. On the contrary, we are of opinion that they have been reduced too much already by a devolution on local bodies which has taken the control of primary education to a large extent out of their hands with unfortunate results. The relations between Provincial Governments and local bodies demand further consideration and adjustment. The formation of an educated electorate is a matter for the nation. Under recent legislation, powers have been devolved on local bodies in such a way that the Ministers responsible to the legislature have no effective control of the expenditure of money voted for mass education; and in some cases, owing to inadequate inspection, they have little information as to the results of that expenditure. It is clear that the new factor of ministerial responsibility has not been taken sufficiently into account.[1]

14. **National Education (1921-37).** After the upheaval of 1920-22 had cooled down, the movement of national education received a *quantitative* set-back in the sense that the number of educational institutions which described themselves as "national" was very greatly reduced. The old idea of asking the students

[1]*Report*, pp. 346-47.

in the ordinary institutions to come out and of providing a parallel system of schools for them was primarily based, as stated earlier, on the view that Swaraj would be won in one year. But as it became more and more evident that the political struggle would continue for some years to come, the concept of running a parallel educational system was more or less given up. Lala Lajpat Rai had already advocated the view that a system of national education can be provided, not by private enterprise, but only by a *National State* so that the development of national education would have to await the attainment of freedom. This view came to be accepted more and more with the result that the work of national education was now restricted to the organisation of a few institutions on an experimental basis. This was a change for the better because the limited resources in men and money could now be harnessed to the development of new ideas and concepts rather than be dissipated in mass work at a lower level.

(*a*) *The Jamia Millia Islamia:* The several national universities that came into existence between 1920-21 had more or less a chequered career. Mention may be made of the Vidyapeeths of Gujarat, Bihar and Kashi. But the Jamia Millia Islamia continued to do active and useful work. For administrative reasons, it was shifted from Aligarh to Delhi in 1925. It refused to seek recognition at the hands of Government for, in the words of its promoters, it preferred "the hardships and ordeals of an honourable independence to the enervating security of a permanent grant which would frustrate its noblest ambitions." Its objects were stated as follows:—

(*i*) It seeks to broaden the education of the youth on their own cultural heritage without rejecting what is true and useful in the culture of others. It inculcates the spirit of service, of tolerance, of self-control and self-respect.

(*ii*) It aims at building character by providing adequately for the intellectual and emotional needs of the growing mind and affording constant opportunity for active self-expression, and by replacing the discipline of fear by the development of initiative and responsibility.

The Jamia Millia was conducting:—

(*i*) A residential University College, imparting higher instruction in the arts and social sciences, with special provision for imparting instruction in modern languages and social sciences to graduates of Arabic Madressahs. There is a library for reference and study consisting of over 20,000 volumes, and a Natural Science Laboratory.

(*ii*) A residential High School on modern lines with opportunities for developing skill in the arts and crafts, with special emphasis on individual work.

(*iii*) A residential Primary School, conducted mostly on the Project Method, with a school garden, a school bank and co-operative shop, managed entirely by the boys.

(*iv*) The Jamia Education Centre No. 1, the first of a projected number of centres for primary and adult education.

(*v*) The Jamia Chemical Industries, attached to the Jamia Science Laboratory for manufacturing various chemical preparations of daily use.

(*vi*) The Urdu Academy, which, by its publications, has made a substantial contribution to serious literature in Urdu.

(*vii*) The *Jamia*, an Urdu monthly magazine of Social Science and Literature.

(*viii*) The Maktaba (Jamia Book Depot), with about the largest stock of Urdu books and a creditable record in the publication of educational literature.

About four hundred students from various parts of India and other Asiatic lands were studying in the Jamia.

The Jamia had no permanent funds; and according to the promoters "may never have any beyond the courage and sacrifice of those who are conducting it and the appreciation and sympathy of the public." It received substantial aid from the Governments of H.E.H. the Nizam and Bhopal and also from the Delhi Municipality. But its biggest source of income was the large number of its supporters called *Hamdardane Jamia*, whose number is about 7,000, and who contributed a part of their earnings to the maintenance of the Jamia.

(*b*) *The Viswa-Bharati:* Another institution of an All-India character that was brought into existence without reference to Government grants was the *Viswa-Bharati* which was founded and endowed by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore on 6th May, 1922, with the declared object of—

(*i*) bringing the diverse cultures of the East into more intimate relationship with one another;

(*ii*) approaching the science and culture of the West from the standpoint of their unity; and

(*iii*) realising in common fellowship and humanitarian activity, the concord of the East and the West, and thus bringing about the conditions that may lead to world harmony.

The institution is co-educational and residential and attracted students, not only from every part of India, but also from distant parts of Asia and Europe. It maintains the following departments:—

(*i*) *Vidya-Bhavana*, or a School of Research, where facilities are available for research in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Hindi, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and Bengali literature and in Indian philosophy, Buddhism, and Indian mysticism ;

(*ii*) *Cheena-Bhavana*, or a School of Sino-Indian studies, which has a library of about 100,000 volumes in Chinese. Its object is to encourage Indian students to study Chinese culture and *vice versa*;

(*iii*) *Shiksha-Bhavana*, or a College which is affiliated to the Calcutta University ;

(*iv*) *Kala-Bhavana*, or a department of Fine Arts, which has introduced a new school of painting that has received world-wide recognition;

(*v*) *Sangit-Bhavana*, or a School of Music and Dancing ;

(*vi*) *Sriniketan*, or an Institute of Rural Reconstruction; and

(*vii*) *Silpa-Bhavana*, or a School of Industries whose objects are the encouragement and promotion of the cottage industries in the district.

In connection with the problem of national education, mention must also be made of certain great institutions which continued working independently of the official system and trying to revive the ideals of ancient Hindu or Muslim education. Of the several institutions of this type, we choose three as representative—the *Gurukul University* which tries to revive ideals of ancient Indian education and the *Darul-Uloom*, Deoband, and the *Darul-Uloom Nadwatul Ulema*, Lucknow, which try to revive Muslim ideals in education.

(*a*) *The Gurukul University:* The Gurukul University was established by the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab, in 1902. It began as a small elementary school and has now grown into a full-fledged university. From the very beginning, the university has refused Government grants and has, therefore, been independent of all Government influence and control. In 1924, it was shifted to its present site at Kangri where it conducts its work in "sylvan solitude" which is "free from the uneducational influences of city life." It admits students between the ages of six and eight (or even ten, in cases of exceptional fitness). The ordinary course of instruction runs over 14 years and at the end of it, a student becomes a *Snataka* or graduate. After a further study of two years, he gets the degree of *Vachaspati* or doctorate. The Gurukula system is both for boys and girls and a Gurukula for girls teaching up to the college standard has been working at Dehradun since 1923.

In the first four classes Sanskrit, Hindi, Arithmetic, Geography, Drawing, History, Religion and Morality are taught. For what is called hand-and-eye-training, lessons are given in clay-modelling, mat-weaving, spinning, kindergarten, etc. In the fifth class, English and physical science are added. After the *Adhikari* or Entrance examination, the students join the university classes, which are divided into three colleges, namely, *Veda Mahavidyalaya* or Divinity College, *Sadharana Mahavidyalaya* or Arts College and *Ayurveda Mahavidyalaya* or Medical College. In the first two colleges, *Veda*, *Darshana* (*i.e.*, Indian

Philosophy), Sanskrit Literature, English, History, Economics, Western Philosophy, Comparative Study of Religions, and Chemistry form the subjects of study. In some of these subjects, students take also the post-graduate course. In the *Ayurveda Mahavidyalaya*, in addition to ancient Indian medicine, instruction is given in modern medical science. The medium of instruction in the university as a whole is Hindi and very great importance is assigned to the study of Sanskrit.

The Gurukula system of education tries to revive certain ideals of ancient Indian education. Its fundamental principles have been thus stated:—

(*i*) Education must be imparted in residential institutions which will combine the *home* and the *school* in one. The word *Gurukula* means the *home of the teacher*. Under the Gurukula system the child moves from the smaller family of the father to the bigger family of the teacher, but the atmosphere of the home is continued to be maintained and he gets the best of both the home and the school.

(*ii*) Education must be free; and free lodging and boarding must be provided for every child in the home of the teacher.

(*iii*) Birth or status shall not be a discriminating factor in the development of any child. Equality of treatment is accorded to all and all children live alike, dress alike, and spend their days alike.

(*iv*) A consistent attempt is made to inculcate the qualities of endurance and hardihood.

(*v*) Great emphasis is laid on the building up of character, on the observance of *Brahmacharya*, and the sublimation of the sex-instinct.

(*b*) *Darul-Uloom, Deoband:* This institution was established in 1864. It is a Muslim University conducted on orthodox lines and attracts students, not only from all parts of India, but also from all parts of the Islamic world. It is regarded as the fourth Muslim University of the world, the first three being Jamia Azhar, Jamia Zetuna and Jamia Tunis. This is a fully residential university and instruction is imparted in Arabic, Persian, Tajveid (reciting of the Holy Quran), Tybb (Unani Medicine) and Tabligh (missionary activity). There is also a Department of Arts and Crafts and drill and physical training are emphasized. Its alumni, after passing out, suffix the term *Deobandi* to their names and are awarded the *Fazil* degree. It has about 1,600 students on its rolls out of whom about 100 were from outside India.

(*c*) *Darul-Uloom Nadwatul Ulema, Lucknow:* This institution was established in 1898 and its ideological position is midway between the orthodox university of Deoband or a modern university like Aligarh. It turns out a type which may be termed the *modern Moulvi*.[1] This institution also attracts students from all parts of India and other Islamic countries. Its alumni

[1]*Muslim Year-Book of India*, 1948-49, p. 244.

suffix the term *Nadvi* to their names. The number of students stood at 300 during this period, and like the Darul-Uloom, Deoband, this is also a residential institution.

It should not be supposed, however, that the concept of national education was restricted within the four walls of the few places that described themselves as *national*. Some of its aspects were becoming commoner and were even being adopted by the official system. For instance, the success in introducing the modern Indian languages as media of instruction in most secondary schools which was achieved in this period was due mainly to the struggle over national education. Similarly, the attempts made at this time to evolve a national language and to popularise it were also a sequel to the upheaval of national education. Even the atmosphere within the recognised schools began to change a great deal. The old insistence on photographs of the King-Emperor or the singing of 'God Save the King' now almost disappeared, especially in private schools; photographs of national leaders began to be seen in schools and were not objected to; except on a few tense occasions, the singing of *Vande Mataram* and other national songs became a common thing in most school assemblies; and, in short, an atmosphere more favourable to the development of patriotism began to prevail in secondary and collegiate institutions. These and such other indirect victories of national education, therefore, can be said to have more than compensated for the loss in numbers.

15. **Adult Literacy.** This review of the principal events in the educational history of India between 1921 and 1937 may now be closed with a brief account of another field in which useful pioneer work was done at this time, *viz.*, the problem of spreading literacy among the adults. Although *literacy* is not equivalent to education, it is nevertheless the first indispensable step towards it; and, in a country like India where 93 per cent of the people were returned as illiterate even in the census of 1921, the extreme urgency of a drive to liquidate adult illiteracy needs no special pleading. It is to the credit of Indian Ministers that they took the first few steps in this direction. As early as in 1927, there were 11,205 schools for adults with an enrolment of 2,90,352. But owing to the economic depression and consequent financial stringency that set in after 1927, however, the interest in the problem again waned and the number of night-schools or adult

classes declined considerably in the next decade. In 1936-37 there were only 2,027 schools with an enrolment of 63,637 adults. It will be seen, therefore, that, from the quantitative point of view, the work done in spreading literacy among adults prior to 1937 was hardly of any importance. But its ideological significance and utility as spade-work are considerable. It was these early attempts, and particularly those made between 1917 and 1937, which created and maintained public interest in the problem; and it was in them that the first ideas of compelling the employers to make their employees literate, mobilizing the spirit of service among the students to expand the movement and to reduce its cost, roping in local bodies, co-operative societies. and other semi-official and non-official agencies to assist in the work, etc., were first evolved. These ideas, it would be seen later, were more fully exploited by the Congress Ministries when they accepted office in 1937 and tried to organise mass literacy campaigns.

16. **Review of the Period (1921-37).** We are now in a position to take a rapid survey of the principal achievements of Indian Ministers in the sixteen years of the diarchical rule (1921-37) in the Provinces. In the field of *University education,* we find (*a*) the constitution of the Inter-University Board, (*b*) the incorporation of five new Universities, (*c*) the democratisation of the older universities by substantially increasing the number of elected seats on the Senate, (*d*) large expansion in the number of colleges and students, (*e*) opening of several new faculties, (*f*) provision of several new courses of studies and research, (*g*) development of inter-collegiate and inter-university activities, (*h*) provision for military training (although on a small scale) and (*i*) greater attention paid to physical education, health and residence of students. In the field of *secondary education,* we find (*a*) unprecedented expansion of secondary education as a whole, (*b*) great increase in the number of secondary schools in rural areas, (*c*) large expansion in the secondary education of girls, (*d*) the adoption of the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction on a very large scale throughout the secondary course, and (*e*) some improvement in the training and service conditions of secondary teachers. In *primary education,* this period witnessed (*a*) the passing of several Acts of primary education, (*b*) the execution of several schemes of compulsion and expansion on a voluntary basis, (*c*) a large increase in the number of schools and pupils (although the ideal of universal, compulsory

and free primary education was far from being reached), and (*d*) some improvement in qualitative aspects. A few attempts, unfortunately sporadic and inadequate, were also made to spread literacy among the adults. In *vocational education*, there was a general all-round development and a few earnest attempts were made to provide the highest type of education in India itself. The recruitment to the I.E.S. was discontinued in 1924, a new Provincial (Class I) Service was organised instead, and the whole of the Education Department was practically Indianised by 1936-37. The Muslims, long backward in education, now made up for their deficiencies in the past and, in some respects, even marched ahead of the other communities. The education of women also made great progress and the period witnessed the passing of several laws to ameliorate their position, the grant of political privileges to them, and the birth of a new leadership in their midst. A tremendous drive to banish untouchability was launched in this period by Mahatma Gandhi and the Harijans themselves were organised politically under the leadership of men like Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Consequently, the official system could substantially reduce the *Special* schools for Harijans (if not abolish them altogether) and help in bringing about a great expansion of education among the Harijans. These are great achievements, indeed, and they appear all the more significant when we remember that the Indian Ministers of this period had to work against several difficulties such as (*a*) absence of Central grants, (*b*) general financial stringency, (*c*) lack of support from the Congress, (*d*) periodical political struggles and the inevitable disturbances connected with them, and (*e*) the absence of co-operation from the I.E.S. over the greater part of this period. This record of achievements definitely gave a lie to the fears of those who had opposed the transfer of education to popular control in 1921 and strengthened the view of those who had expected good results. In fact, they were sufficiently good to justify the view that a further transfer of powers was called for and that education ought to be completely transferred to Indian control *without any limitations*. This is almost exactly what happened in 1937 when *Provincial Autonomy* was introduced to eleven Provinces of British India, and greater (or almost complete) control over education was given to Indian Ministers. The principal events of this new era in educational history will be narrated in the next chapter.

Chapter Ten

EDUCATION UNDER PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY (1937-47)

1. **Provincial Autonomy.** The Government of India Act, 1935, marked a further step in the onward march of India to complete political independence. It put an end to the inherently defective diarchical system of administration, abolished the distinction between *reserved* and *transferred* departments, and placed the whole field of Provincial Administration under a Ministry responsible to a legislature which had an overwhelming majority of elected members. This new system of governance, popularly known as *Provincial Autonomy*, came into operation in 1937 in eleven provinces of British India.

With the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy, earnest hopes of a great educational advance were at once raised. Most of the difficulties which had hampered the work of the Indian Ministers between 1921 and 1937 were no longer there. The world economic depression and the consequent financial stringency dominated the scene no longer; money had begun to flow in more freely and the finance portfolio was no longer held by an Executive Councillor who was not amenable to the influence of the Ministers; the I.E.S. had almost been liquidated and the European officers within it were now an extremely small minority; and popular support was ensured because the Congress which was the most influential political organisation in the country had accepted office in seven provinces out of eleven and in the remaining four provinces also, the ministries had the clear support of the majority of the population. It was, therefore, hoped that the new Provincial Governments working under the Government of India Act, 1935, would be able to plan educational reconstruction with a bolder and a freer hand and execute it with vigour, firmness, and speed.

Unfortunately, these hopes did not materialise. The first and foremost cause of this failure was that the Congress remained in power only for a short while. It assumed office for the first time in 1937; but within two years, the Second World War broke out in September 1939. Differences soon arose between

the Congress and the British Government over the question of the *war and peace aims* of the Allies (with special reference to their application to India) and the Congress resigned in 1940 after having been in office for less than three years. Between 1940 and 1945, the "Section-93" or "Caretaker Governments" were in charge. Their principal objective was the prosecution of War and hence educational reconstruction had more or less to mark time till the popular ministries came back again in 1946. The Congress was, therefore, in office a second time for about two years till the withdrawal of the British Power on 15th August, 1947. In other words, out of the ten years of Provincial Autonomy, popular Governments were in office for only five. Secondly, this was a time when political problems dominated the whole scene and educational matters were consequently relegated to a very subsidiary position. The year 1937-38 was dominated by disputes over the powers reserved to Governors; 1939-40 by discussion of the war and peace aims of the Allies; 1940-45 by the Second World War itself and the Quit India Movement; and 1946-47 by the preparations for the withdrawal of the British power and the partition of India. It will, therefore, be seen that there was hardly any time when some political trouble or the other was not on the anvil. Thirdly, throughout the whole of this period, the triangular fight between the British, the Congress and the Muslim League was so intensive and so vital that all other issues were completely eclipsed. For all these reasons, it is hardly to be wondered if the national leaders could not devote adequate time and money to educational reconstruction and if the educational advance under Provincial Autonomy did not at all come up to the high hopes aroused in 1937.

The achievements of this period can be conveniently studied under three groups. In the first group, we shall include (*a*) changes introduced in educational administration by the Government of India Act, 1935; (*b*) educational activities of the Government of India; and (*c*) developments in university, secondary, primary, and vocational education. In the second group, we shall study the three most distinctive contributions of the Congress Ministries, *viz.*, (*a*) Basic Education, (*b*) Adult Education (including large-scale literacy campaigns) and (*c*) intensive efforts to abolish untouchability and to spread education

among the Harijans. In the third group, we shall analyse the various short-range or long-range plans of educational development in India which were prepared in this period, *viz.*, the plan prepared by (*a*) the National Planning Committee, (*b*) the All-India Educational Conference, and (*c*) the Central Advisory Board of Education; and also (*d*) the Five Year Plans (1947-52) prepared by the Central, Provincial and State Governments in India. Sections 2 to 13 will deal with the first group of events; 14 to 16 with the second; and 17 to 22 with the third.

2. **Education under the Government of India Act, 1935.** With these introductory remarks, we shall now turn to a narrative of the main events in the educational history of the decade, 1937-47.

To begin with, it is essential to understand how the position of education was affected by the Government of India Act, 1935. As stated already, the Act of 1919, made education a subject which was "partly all-India, partly reserved, partly transferred with limitations, and partly transferred without limitations".[1] The Government of India Act, 1935, improved this anomalous position considerably and divided all educational activities into two categories only—Federal (or Central) and State (or Provincial)—as follows:—

(*a*) *Federal (or Central) Subjects :*

(*i*) The Imperial Library, Calcutta ; the Indian Museum, Calcutta ; the Imperial War Museum ; the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta ; and any similar institution controlled or financed by the Federation ;

(*ii*) Education in the Defence forces ;

(*iii*) The Banaras Hindu University and the Aligarh Muslim University ;

(*iv*) Preservation of ancient and historical monuments ;

(*v*) Archæology ; and

(*vi*) Education in Centrally Administered Areas.

(*b*) *State (or Provincial) Subjects :*

All matters regarding education other than those which have been included in the Federal list given above were regarded as State or Provincial subjects.

The old distinction between *reserved* and *transferred* subjects disappeared with diarchy and the education of Anglo-Indians and Europeans ceased to be a *reserved* subject.

The Government of India Act, 1935, did not alter the character of the Central Government because the federation contemplated by it did not materialise till 1947. The Central

[1] p. 609, *supra*.

Government, therefore, continued to be responsible to Parliament throughout the period under review. In 1946, however, the Educational Department of the Central Government came under nationalist control for the first time when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru formed his interim Cabinet. On 15th August, 1947, it was made a full-fledged Ministry and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad became the first Federal Minister of Education.

3. **Expansion of University Education (1937-47).** This period witnessed a large expansion in University education and the number of students reading in the universities rose from 126,228 (*including* the figures for universities which are now in Pakistan) in 1936-37 to 241,794 in 1946-47 (*excluding* the figures for universities which are now in Pakistan). The table given on the next page shows the position of the Indian Universities in 1946-47 and has been prepared on the basis of the data given by the Indian Universities Commission.[1]

This large expansion of university education was due to several causes such as general awakening among the people due to the War and the Quit India Movement, the expansion of secondary education, the desire for higher education that was quickly spreading among women and backward classes, the rapid urbanization brought about by the War, and the liberal donations to education given by the mercantile community or other sections of society which had made large profits in the war-period. The War also increased the need for trained personnel and consequently, Government came forward with larger grants for the expansion of university education, particularly in those branches which were connected, directly or indirectly, with war efforts. For these and other reasons, this period witnessed an unprecedented expansion in university education, the founding of several new colleges, opening of many new faculties, establishment of four new universities and a substantial increase in the enrolment and activities of the old universities and colleges.

Good as this expansion was, it hardly justified the view, which was commonly put forward in certain quarters, that the educational system of India had become *top-heavy*; that a stage had already been reached when facilities for higher education

[1]The Indian Universities Commission was appointed by the Central Government in 1948 in order to report on several important aspects of university education in India. It was presided over by Sir S. Radhakrishnan and its report, submitted in August 1949, is a very valuable document which deals with all the major problems of education at the university stage.

Serial No.	Name of the University.	Date of Foundation.	Type.	Number of Students.	Total Expenditure (in thousands).	Government Grant (in thousands).	Percentage of Government Grant to total Income.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Calcutta	1857	Affiliating and Teaching	45,008	3,922	938	22·9
2	Bombay	1857	Do.	43,090	2,695	209	8·6
3	Madras	1857	Do. Federative	28,888	1,650	460	23·4
4	Allahabad	1887	Teaching	3,502	1,672	793	52·88
5	Banaras	1916	Teaching	5,083	12,580	1,270	9·2
6	Mysore	1916	Teaching and Affiliating	9,350	2,548	1,700	69·2
7	Patna	1917	Do.	5,471	864	61	7·2
8	Osmania	1918	Teaching	4,862	3,492	3,498	91·3
9	Aligarh	1920	Do.	4,009	1,570	560	35·7
10	Lucknow	1920	Do.	3,893	2,223	1,070	53·3
11	Delhi	1922	Do. Federative	4,311	977	593	52·4
12	Nagpur	1923	Teaching and Affiliating	5,734	678	113	15·4
13	Andhra	1926	Do.	9,445	1,136	307	20·4
14	Agra	1927	Affiliating	9,936	360	40	9·96
15	Annamalai	1929	Teaching	1,981	1,283	612	47·62
16	Travancore	1937	Teaching and Affiliating	5,715	2,572	2,226	78·6
17	Utkal	1943	Affiliating	3,662	235	40	9·61
18	Saugor	1946	Teaching and Affiliating	1,828	274	100	33·39
19	Rajputana	1947	Affiliating	Not available	234	215	48·23

should be curtailed rather than expanded; and that the money thus saved should be devoted to mass education. In fact, the Indian Universities Commission, 1949, pointed out that the enrolment in our universities was hardly comparable to that in most countries of the West[1] and the Sargent Report made the following interesting observations:—

If on the other hand the total number of University students is calculated in relation to the total population, it will be found that India is perhaps the most backward of all the principal nations of the world in University education. In pre-war Germany, the proportion of students in the Universities to the entire population was 1 to 690, in Great Britain 1 to 837, in the United States 1 to 225, in Russia 1 to 300, while in India it is 1 to 2,206.

There are 12 Universities in England for a population of 41 millions. In Canada there are 13 Universities for a population of 8½ millions, in Australia 6 for a population of 5½ millions. In the U.S.A. there are 1,720 institutions for education of a University type for a population of 130 millions while in India there are 18 Universities for a population of 400 millions. All this goes to prove that when India has a proper educational system, she will need more University education and not less than she has at present.[2]

A more correct judgment would, therefore, be to say, *not* that the Indian Educational system was *top-heavy*, but that it was *light in its foundations.* The necessity and urgency of mass education is undoubtedly paramount; but even in the field of university education, further expansion is still the need of the day.

It was also being increasingly realised in this period that the country does not get the full benefit even of the limited accommodation provided in the universities. This sad result was due to two reasons: Firstly, there was hardly any attempt to *select* students for admission to the Universities and any student who could afford to pay the fees was generally able to secure entrance to an Arts College at least. Secondly, a large number of gifted children were prevented from joining the university because they were economically handicapped and there was no adequate system of scholarships. Our system of higher education, therefore, suffered on both the grounds—by admitting a large number of unfit students who ought to have been diverted to other pursuits; and by failing to admit several superior but poor students, who ought to have been admitted. The inherent social injustice and waste involved in such a system was realised more than ever in this period because the Second World War gave a great currency to ideas of social justice and equality of educational opportunity for all.

[1] *Report*, p. 346.
[2] pp. 28-29.

Another and a still more serious defect of university education was that, in spite of the increase in *total* enrolment, the turn-over of trained personnel in scientific, technical, agricultural or professional branches was far from adequate to meet the needs of the country. It is true that this defect in the system of university education was being continuously stressed since 1902. But it was realised more forcibly in this period than in the past, because the War and the Post-War Development Plans of the Central and Provincial Governments created a situation in which the shortage of trained personnel was most acutely felt.

4. **Secondary Education (1937-47).** In the field of secondary education, there were no outstanding developments. Rapid increase in schools and pupils characterised this period also, although it has to be admitted that the *pace* of expansion was *not* what it had been in the earlier periods. This increase in its turn, emphasized and accentuated the same defects as had already become apparent; some attempts to remedy them and to improve the situation were made but, as in the earlier periods, they fell far too short of the requirements; and, therefore, secondary education in 1946-47 did not present a picture which could be said to be better than that in 1936-37. If anything, it marked a deterioration due to the growing dissatisfaction among secondary teachers and the stress of socio-economic forces created by the War.

(*a*) *Expansion:* The statistics of secondary education for 1946-47 are given below:—

	Schools.			Pupils.		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Middle English Schools ..	4,169	620	4,789	5,40,441	85,484	6,25,925
Middle Vernacular Schools ..	2,914	567	3,481	4,04,377	92,300	4,96,677
High Schools ..	3,061	576	3,637	13,81,038	1,78,341	15,59,379
Total for 1946-47	10,144	1,763	11,907	23,25,856	3,56,125	26,81,981
Total for 1936-37	..	..	13,056	..	..	22,87,872

In comparing the statistics of 1936-37 with those of 1946-47, allowance will have to be made for the establishment of Pakistan whose population was 75 millions as against that of 318 millions in India (1941 census). On a population basis, therefore, we shall have to assume that, in the Indian Union, there were, in 1936-37, only about 10,400 secondary schools and about 18·30 lakhs of pupils (*i.e.*, about four-fifths of the actual number given for 1936-37). If these figures are now compared with those of 1946-47, we find a rise in the number of pupils no doubt; but their total number has not been *doubled* as it was in every preceding period. It must be noted that the number of university students was almost doubled between 1936-37 and 1946-47 in spite of the establishment of Pakistan. The same phenomenon ought to have been seen in secondary education as well. Bu tthe above statistics give enough room to conclude that the expansion of secondary education between 1936-37 and 1946-47 was only moderately fast and that its pace fell short of that seen in earlier periods.

What might be the causes of this slackening of pace? Several reasons may be suggested. It may be due to the fact that a saturation point is being reached in secondary education and that, as most of the children that ought to be in secondary schools are already there, the further expansion of secondary education is bound to be slow. This argument, however, does not appear probable because the existing enrolment of secondary schools in India is far below that in other progressive countries of the World. Another argument which may be suggested is that this restriction of numbers might have been due to a process of selection under which only those who were fit to receive secondary education were admitted to secondary schools. But during the period under review, the admission of pupils to secondary schools continued to be entirely unselective and every child that sought admission eventually got it. The possibility of a selective screening as a cause of this slackening of pace must, therefore, be ruled out.

As we analyse it, only two causes seem to be responsible: the first and foremost is the slackening of pace in the expansion of primary education—a topic that will be discussed in the next section; and the second is the economic situation created by the War. The bulk of the children that attend secondary schools

come from the urban middle class. Unfortunately, it was this very stratum of society which was hit extremely hard by the rising cost of living on the one hand, and the rising cost of education (due to an increase in fees, rise in the prices of educational equipment, etc.) on the other. Consequently, the secondary education of children from this section of society became more contracted than before. Moreover, the children of the poor working class also found it more and more difficult to attend the secondary schools, partly because of the increasing poverty of their families and partly because of the rising cost of secondary education. This contraction of opportunities for secondary education in any but the upper strata of society resulted in a comparative slowing down of the pace of expansion noticeable in this period.

In other words, our system of secondary education is now functioning as a highly selective process, not on an *intellectual* but on an *economic* basis. It admits almost all the children from the richer sections of society, so that a good deal of the available accommodation is wasted on pupils not necessarily fitted to receive such education. On the other hand, some children of the middle class are prevented from joining it by economic considerations and only a few children of the poor class succeed in obtaining admission to it, in spite of their being intellectually fitted to do so. As in University education, therefore, the problem of secondary education is three-fold: firstly, there must be a large overall expansion of secondary schools comparable to that in England or any other progressive country; secondly, the provision of free-places and scholarships must be made on a very liberal scale to ensure that no superior child able to profit by secondary education is prevented from receiving it on grounds of poverty; and thirdly, scientific and administratively convenient methods of selecting children for secondary schools have to be evolved. Unless this screening process is adopted first at the secondary stage, it will not be possible to adopt it later on at the matriculation level and to improve the position and standard of university education as well.

(*b*) *Medium of Instruction:* The problem of the medium of instruction received considerable attention during the period under review. The difficulties, real or imaginary, which had beset the adoption of modern Indian languages as media of

instruction at the secondary stage in the earlier period (1921-37) now disappeared almost completely. Text-books of good quality were published in sufficient numbers; terminologies began to be evolved and made current, and although lacking in uniformity and universal acceptance in all parts of India, they paved the way for the preparation of common terminologies for use in Indian languages; the teachers got gradually used to teaching in the mother-tongue and even subjects like algebra, geometry, physics, chemistry, or botany began to be taught through the Indian languages. By 1947, therefore, it may be said that the mother-tongue became *the* medium of instruction at the secondary stage and the only problem that was left unsolved was that of the medium of instruction at the university stage.

(*c*) *Provision of Vocational or Alternative Courses:* Some progress was also noticeable in the provision of alternative or vocational courses at the secondary stage. The Provincial Governments started technical, commercial or agricultural High Schools and also began to give larger grants to private schools providing non-literary courses. The War assisted this trend considerably. It required a large number of technically trained recruits and thus created an increased demand for technical education—a demand that led to some diversion of pupils from the narrow road leading to the Matriculation. The development of Indian industries that took place during the War also helped the process. Even after the War the movement was kept going and, in the Five Year Plans of educational reconstruction which were introduced at the Centre and in all Provinces with effect from 1st April, 1947, an important place was always assigned to the provision of non-literary courses at the secondary stage. On the whole, it may be said that some effective measures to provide alternative vocational or pre-vocational courses at the secondary stage were taken, for the first time, in the decade between 1937 and 1947. The progress, however, was slow, partly due to lack of funds and partly to lack of trained teachers and even in 1946-47, the type of High School which prepared the students for the Arts and Science Courses of the University still dominated the scene.

(*d*) *Training of Teachers:* Some progress was also achieved in the training of secondary teachers. The number of training colleges for secondary teachers was considerably increased during

the period under review, and the number of women teachers undergoing training showed an even greater increase. In 1946-47, the total output of trained teachers was 2,110 men and 1,307 women.

5. **Primary Education (1937-47).** In the field of primary education the epoch-making event of this period was the scheme of Basic Education enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi. This will be described in the next section.

The Congress Ministries also paid attention to the problem of extending *compulsory primary education.* The following table shows the areas brought under compulsion by 1947-48:—

Compulsory Primary Education, 1947-48

Province.	Age-group under compulsion.	Area with boys only under compulsion.		Areas with boys and girls under compulsion.	
		No. of towns and cities.	No. of villages.	No. of towns and cities.	No. of villages.
Bihar ..	6-10	17	..	..	..
Bombay ..	7-8, 6-11	9	134	110	5,100
C.P. and Berar	6-11, 7-12	34	1,031	..	..
East Punjab ..	6-11	37	1,420	..	..
Madras ..	6-14, 6-12	16	31	12	1,607
Orissa ..	6-12, 6-13, 5-10	1	1	..	..
U. P.* ..	6-11	36	1,371	3	3
West Bengal ..	6-10	1	..	..	..
Delhi ..	6-12	1	7	..	..

*Figures relate to 1946-47.

If these statistics are compared with those of 1936-37, it will be noticed that the best progress was made in Bombay where compulsion was introduced in several municipal areas and in all villages with a population of 1,000 or more. But in other parts of India, the progress can only be called poor. When it is remembered that the nation was irrevocably committed

to the introduction of compulsory education for boys and girls[1] in the age-group of 6 to 14 before 1960-61, it becomes at once evident that the progress of compulsory education in the past, if it can be called progress at all, was extremely disappointing. A considerable quickening of the pace at which compulsion would be introduced had become inevitable.

The other measures adopted by the Congress Ministries for the *expansion of primary education* included (*i*) opening of schools in school-less villages; (*ii*) sanctioning additional grants to local bodies; (*iii*) opening additional girls' schools, where necessary; and (*iv*) sanctioning additional posts of teachers in existing schools. But in the absence of a larger scale adoption of compulsion, the progress of primary education was rather slow as the following statistics will show:—

Expansion of Primary Education (1937-47)

Year.	No. of Primary Schools.	No. of pupils.
1881-82	82,916	2,061,541
1901-02	93,604	3,076,671
1921-22	155,017	6,109,752
1936-37	192,244	10,224,288
1945-46	167,700	13,027,313
1946-47	134,866	10,525,943

It is difficult to compare the statistics of 1946-47 with those of 1936-37 on account of the establishment of Pakistan. But the figures for 1945-46, which are for undivided India, show that there was an actual fall in the number of schools (owing to the stress of war-conditions) and only a relatively small rise in the number of pupils. The expansion of primary education in this decade was, therefore, far from satisfactory.

This is due to the fact that the expansion of primary education on a voluntary basis appeared to have reached a saturation

[1] *Vide* Section 45 of the Constitution of India.

point in most areas. Any further expansion on a large scale, therefore, necessitated compulsion.[1] Another remedy was the organisation of a mass literacy campaign on a very large scale.

From the foregoing account which reveals only a slow progress in primary education, it can be easily imagined that the *progress of literacy* would also be correspondingly slow. The census of 1941 gave an over-all literacy percentage of 12·2 for British India. This compares favourably with the literacy percentage of 1931 (7 p.c.) and shows that the literacy rose by 5 p.c. in the decade 1931-41 whereas the corresponding rise in the decades between 1881 to 1931 had been about 1 p.c. only. Thus the situation may be said to have improved somewhat between 1931 and 1941; but, on the whole, it has to be admitted that the progress of literacy was very slow even during this period.

There are two comments to be made on this aspect of the problem. The first is that the rise in literacy is so slow that it cannot be called *progress*. The goal in mass education, at least in the early stages, is universal literacy. Unfortunately, this goal is not a fixed point. It was continually receding further, on account of the increase in population. What really matters, therefore, is the *number of illiterates* in society. That shows the distance which yet remains between us and the goal, and especially in a backward country like ours, this aspect of the problem is of far greater importance than any other. Judged from this point of view, the table given on the next page will show what progress has been achieved in India during the last decade.

It will be seen from this table that (*a*) the number of illiterates in 1941 is actually greater than that in 1931; (*b*) unless the rate of increase of literacy is greater than the rate of increase of population, we cannot be said to be progressing at all; and

[1]A remarkable confirmation of this view can be had from Bombay. The following are the statistics of primary schools and pupils for the Province :—

Year	No. of schools	No. of scholars
1936-37	12,901	1,140,299
1946-47	18,992	1,665,042
1948-49	22,765	2,469,904

The increase in *two* years between 1946-47 and 1948-49 is about 1½ times that in the *ten* preceding years. The reason is that compulsory education was introduced in several parts of the State in 1947-48. This is convincing proof, if proof were needed at all, to show that all talk of "expansion on a voluntary basis" was unrealistic and that universal, free, and compulsory education required to be introduced with as little delay as possible.

Progress of Illiteracy in India (1931-41)

(The figures are in thousands)

Province or State.	In 1931.				From 1932 to 1941.				In 1941.
	Total Population.	No. of Literates.	Per-centage of Literacy.	No. of Illiterates on hand.	No. of Illiterates added (Increase in Population).	No. of Illiterates reduced (Increase in Literates).	Per-centage of Literacy.	Net increase in Illiteracy.	No. of Illiterates on hand.
Bombay ..	17,992	1,774	9·5	16,218	2,866	2,294	19·5	572	16,790
Madras ..	46,740	4,320	9·3	42,420	2,602	2,101	13·0	501	42,921
Bengal ..	50,114	4,694	9·4	45,420	10,200	5,026	16·1	5,174	50,594
Bihar ..	32,371	1,344	4·2	31,027	3,969	1,996	9·2	1,973	33,000
Orissa ..	5,306	539	10·2	4,767	3,423	409	10·9	3,014	7,781
U. P. ..	48,409	2,260	4·8	46,149	6,312	2,393	8·5	3,919	50,068
C. P. ..	14,667	868	5·9	13,799	2,155	1,042	11·3	1,113	14,912
N.-W. F. ..	2,425	100	4·1	2,325	613	134	7·7	479	2,804
Punjab ..	23,581	1,248	5·3	22,333	4,838	2,418	12·9	2,420	24,753
Sind ..	3,887	230	5·9	3,657	650	244	10·5	406	4,063
Assam ..	8,622	666	7·7	7,956	1,583	508	11·5	1,075	9,031
Travancore ..	5,096	1,218	23·9	3,878	974	1,176	47·7	202	3,676
Cochin ..	1,205	339	28·1	866	218	165	35·4	53	919
Baroda ..	2,443	435	17·7	2,008	412	222	23·0	190	2,198
Gwalior ..	3,523	141	4·4	3,382	469	156	7·4	313	3,695
Hyderabad ..	14,436	596	4·1	13,840	1,748	515	6·9	1,233	15,073
Kashmir ..	3,646	124	3·4	3,422	375	140	6·5	235	3,757
Mysore ..	6,557	594	9·1	5,963	772	320	12·2	470	6,433
All India ..	3,38,170	23,493	7·0	3,14,677	50,630	23,830	12·2	26,800	341,477

(See *Progress of Education*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 368-69 and 456-57.)

(*c*) that unless the rate of increase of literacy exceeds greatly that of the increase of population, there is no hope of realising the goal of universal literacy in a short time. It is only the introduction of universal compulsion that can achieve and maintain this ideal.

Another trend of this period was *the tendency to accept the recommendation of the Hartog Committee to the effect that the powers given to local bodies over primary education should be withdrawn.* The Province of Bombay was the first to act on this recommendation. In 1938, and then again in 1947, Primary Education Acts were passed and the powers given to local bodies were very substantially curtailed.[1]

The third development of this period was the greater attention that came to be paid to the important problem of giving a living wage to the primary teachers. Unfortunately, the comparative statistics of the *average pay* of primary teachers for all Provinces are not given in the *Quinquennial Reviews of the Progress of Education in India*, so that it is not possible to compare periodically the relative economic status of primary teachers in the different Provinces. But the following comparative figures were given by the Hartog Committee[2] for the first time :—

	Rs.	a.		Rs.	a.
Madras	15	4	Punjab ..	25	8
Bombay	47	0	Bihar and Orissa ..	11	5
Bengal	8	6	Central Provinces ..	24	8
United Provinces ..	18	8	Assam ..	14	4

These figures refer presumably to the year 1927. It is difficult to ascertain how the Hartog Committee put the average pay of a primary teacher in Bombay at Rs. 47! The investigations of the Moos-Paranjape Committee showed that the average salary of a primary teacher in Bombay was only Rs. 33 in 1922 —the highest ever reached[3] ! Probably, the Committee confused the position in Bombay City (where the pay scales have always been relatively higher) with that in the Province as a whole. Be that as it may, the position of the emoluments of the primary teachers in 1936-37 was not materially different from that given above. An economic depression began in 1929 and the next

[1] In Mysore, however, a more drastic legislation was put through and all powers given to local bodies were withdrawn in 1941.

[2] *Report*, p. 64.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

two or three years saw a cut in salaries. In Bombay, the salaries actually deteriorated and in other Provinces, they did not improve. The miserably low salaries that the primary teachers received in most Provinces in 1936-37 can, therefore, be easily imagined.

The problem, ever urgent as it was, came to a head with the War. The rise in the cost of living was so sharp that the economic plight of teachers became very bad and they started an agitation for higher remuneration. The demand got a great fillip in the Sargent Report which emphasized the early adoption of a national and decent scale of pay to primary teachers. In the atmosphere of the times, trade-union methods came to be readily adopted and failing to get a satisfactory rise in their pay, the primary teachers took recourse to strikes as a means of achieving their demands. The first great strike took place in 1946 in the Province of Bombay when 45,000 primary teachers struck work for 54 days. Ultimately, the public conscience was aroused and in every Province the scales of primary teachers were revised and they were given more liberal dearness allowances than in the past. Towards the end of this period, the remuneration of primary teachers, therefore, was far better than that in 1936-37 in so far as Rs. as. p. are concerned. But unfortunately, the rise in the cost of living was so high in the same interval that, in spite of all the recent increases in remuneration, the lot of the primary teachers was far from happy even in 1946-47.

6. **Basic Education (1937-47).** We have so far dealt with the principal events of the period under review classified suitably under certain heads, and shall now turn to a detailed discussion of the three distinctive contributions of the Congress Ministries to the evolution of a national system of education in India, *viz.*, Basic Education, Adult Education with special emphasis on the liquidation of adult illiteracy, and the education of Harijans with special emphasis on the abolition of untouchability. We shall first take up the scheme of Basic Education which is undoubtedly the most epoch-making event in the history of primary education in modern India.

(*a*) *Announcement of the Scheme by Mahatma Gandhi:* When the Congress Ministries assumed office in seven provinces, they had to face a dilemma. On the one hand, there was a strong popular demand for the introduction, in the shortest time possible,

of universal, free, and compulsory primary education. This was a legitimate demand and the Congress itself was irrevocably committed to it. But it could not be met unless huge sums of money were provided in the budget and it was not easy, if not actually impossible, to raise them by fresh taxation. Moreover, the position was complicated still further by the decision, under a lead given by Mahatma Gandhi, to introduce total prohibition as well—a step which meant, not only the disappearance of a large and well-established source of revenue, but also the mortgaging of several easily available new sources of taxation to make up for its loss. It, therefore, appeared, *prima facie*, that the country could have *either* prohibition *or* compulsion. But the Congress was committed to both; and a way out of this dilemma became obvious when Mahatma Gandhi came forward with the proposal that the plans of mass education need not be held up for want of funds and that universal, compulsory and free primary education of seven years could be given to every child if the process of schooling could be made self-supporting by imparting education through a useful and productive craft. He described this new educational process in the following words:—

1. The present system of education does not meet the requirements of the country in any shape or form. English, having been made the medium of instruction in all the higher branches of learning, has created a permanent bar between the highly educated few and the uneducated many. It has prevented knowledge from percolating to the masses. The excessive importance given to English has cast upon the educated class a burden which has maimed them mentally for life and made them strangers in their own land. Absence of vocational training has made the educated class almost unfit for productive work and harmed them physically. Money spent on primary education is a waste of expenditure inasmuch as what little is taught is soon forgotten and has little or no value in terms of the villages or cities. Such advantage as is gained by the existing system of education is not gained by the chief taxpayer, his children getting the least.

2. The course of primary education should be extended at least to seven years and should include the general knowledge gained up to the matriculation standard less English and plus a substantial vocation.

3. For the all-round development of boys and girls all training should, so far as possible, be given through a profit-yielding vocation. In other words, vocations should serve a double purpose—to enable the pupil to pay for his tuition through the products of his labour and at the same time to develop the whole man or woman in him or her, through the vocation learnt at school. Land, buildings and equipment are not intended to be covered by the proceeds of the pupil's labour. All the processes of cotton, wool, and silk, commencing from gathering, cleaning, ginning (in the case of cotton), carding, spinning, dyeing, sizing, warp-making, double twisting, designing, and weaving, embroidery, tailoring, paper-making, cutting, book-binding, cabinet-making, toy-making, gur-making are undoubted occupations that can easily be learnt and handled without much capital outlay.

This primary education should equip boys and girls to earn their bread by the State guaranteeing employment in the vocations learnt or by buying their manufactures at prices fixed by the State.[1]

It was these revolutionary proposals which were placed before the public through a series of articles in the *Harijan* written in 1937 that later on developed into the *Wardha Scheme of Basic Education*.

The peculiar background in which the scheme was first enunciated created an impression that Gandhiji put forward the scheme in order solely or even primarily to answer the financial charges against prohibition. Nothing can be farther from the truth. As early as 1902, Gandhiji had tried his idea of self-supporting education on the Tolstoy form with shoe-making as the craft. We have also shown that he had written about the same idea in the most unambiguous terms as early as in 1921. The question of prohibition was not there on any of these occasions and it would, therefore, be an historical untruth to say that he devised the scheme of Basic Education in 1937 to meet the financial difficulties created by his emphasis on prohibition. Gandhiji himself tried to clarify the position. He asserted that the problem of education was "unfortunately mixed up with the disappearance of drink revenues"[2]. He also pointed out that what he discovered in 1937 was *not* the scheme, but its *special application* to the situation then prevailing in India. He wrote:—

I am not surprised at the caution with which he (*i.e.*, Dr. Arundale) approaches the idea of self-supporting education. For me it is the crux. My one regret is that *what I have seen through the glass darkly for the past 40 years, I have begun to see now quite clearly under the stress of circumstances.* Having spoken strongly in 1920 against the present system of education, and having now got the opportunity of influencing, however little it may be, ministers in seven provinces, who have been fellow workers and fellow sufferers in the glorious struggle for freedom of the country, I have felt an irresistible call to make good the charge that the present mode of education is radically wrong from bottom to top. And what I have been struggling to express in these columns very inadequately has come upon me like a flash, and the truth of it is daily growing upon me.[3]

But these words were often ignored and in the early controversies on the scheme, its merits or demerits were often dealt with along with those of prohibition. By Independence the position had considerably improved and the two issues were generally kept

[1] *Educational Reconstruction*, pp. 52-53.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 7 (Italics ours).

apart. This was a healthy development as it made a more dispassionate evaluation of the scheme possible.

(*b*) *Report of the Zakir Husain Committee:* Gandhiji's articles on Basic Education published in the *Harijan* naturally created a storm and violent controversies arose over several aspects of the proposals. In particular, the self-supporting aspect of Basic Education became the centre of a heated controversy. It was, therefore, thought desirable to get the scheme examined by expert educationists. The First Conference of National Education was accordingly called at Wardha on 22nd and 23rd October, 1937, to consider the new system of education proposed by Gandhiji. As the Hindustani Talimi Sangh reports :—

The number of delegates was strictly limited to national workers, particularly workers in national education from the different provinces. It was also attended by the Education Ministers of the seven provinces with Congress majority. The proceedings of the conference were brief and businesslike. The president himself placed the scheme of national education through rural handicrafts, before the conference. The discussions were serious and the following four resolutions were passed as the result of these discussions :—

(1) That in the opinion of this conference free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale.

(2) That the medium of instruction be the mother tongue.

(3) That the conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout this period should centre round some form of manual productive work, and that all the other abilities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

(4) That the conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers.

The conference then appointed a committee under the presidentship of Dr. Zakir Husain to prepare a detailed syllabus on the lines of the above resolutions and submit it to the chairman of the conference.[1]

Within a short time of two months, the Zakir Husain Committee submitted a detailed report which has since become a fundamental document on the scheme. Gandhiji's writings on the subject so far, as he himself observed, were like the writings of "*a layman* for the *lay reader*".[2] But the Committee's report is an address of educationists to other educationists. In the course of this report, the Committee explained the principles and objectives of the scheme in terms of recognised doctrines of

[1] *Seven Years of Work*, p. 3.

[2] *Educational Reconstruction*, p. 7.

education and psychology, worked out detailed syllabuses for a number of crafts, and made valuable suggestions regarding such important aspects of the scheme as the training of teachers, supervision and examination, and administration. It even worked out a few possible correlations with the basic craft of spinning and weaving. Its report is, therefore, of great importance to a student of Basic Education. A few important passages from it are given below :—

Craft work in Schools : Modern educational thought is practically unanimous in commending the idea of educating children through some suitable form of productive work. This method is considered to be the most effective approach to the problem of providing an integral all-sided education.

Psychologically, it is desirable, because it relieves the child from the tyranny of a purely academic and theoretical instruction against which its active nature is always making a healthy protest. It balances the intellectual and practical elements of experience, and may be made an instrument of educating the body and the mind in co-ordination. The child acquires not the superficial literacy which implies, often without warrant, a capacity to read the printed page, but the far more important capacity of using hand and intelligence for some constructive purpose. This, if we may be permitted to use the expression, is "the literacy of the whole personality."

Socially considered, the introduction of such practical productive work in education, to be participated in by all the children of the nation, will tend to break down the existing barriers of prejudice between manual and intellectual workers, harmful alike for both. It will also cultivate in the only possible way a true sense of the dignity of labour and of human solidarity—an ethical and moral gain of incalculable significance.

Economically considered, carried out intelligently and efficiently, the scheme will increase the productive capacity of our workers and will also enable them to utilize their leisure advantageously.

From the strictly educational point of view, greater concreteness and reality can be given to the knowledge acquired by children by making some significant craft the basis of education. Knowledge will thus become related to life, and its various aspects will be correlated with one another.

Educative Aspect of the Craft : First, the craft or productive work chosen should be rich in educative possibilities. It should find natural points of correlation with important human activities and interests, and should extend into the whole content of the school curriculum. Later in the report, in making our recommendations on the choice of basic crafts, we have given special attention to this point, and we would urge all who are in any way concerned with this scheme to bear this important consideration in mind. The object of this new educational scheme is not primarily the production of craftsmen able to practise some craft mechanically, but rather the exploitation for educative purposes of the resources implicit in craft work. This demands that productive work should not only form a part of the school curriculum—its craft side—but should also inspire the method of teaching all other subjects. Stress should be laid on the principles of co-operative activity, planning, accuracy, initiative and individual responsibility in learning. . . . By merely adding to the curriculum one other subject—weaving, spinning, or carpentry—while all other subjects are still taught in the traditional way we shall, we are convinced, encourage passive assimilation and

the division of knowledge into unintelligible water-tight compartments, and thus defeat the real purpose and spirit of this scheme.

Ideal of Citizenship Implicit in the Scheme : This scheme is designed to produce workers, who will look upon all kinds of useful work—including, manual labour, even scavenging—as honourable, and who will be both able and willing to stand on their own feet.

Such a close relationship of the work done at school to the work of the community will also enable the children to carry the outlook and attitudes acquired in the school environment into the wider world outside. Thus the new scheme which we are advocating will aim at giving the citizens of the future a keen sense of personal worth, dignity and efficiency, and will strengthen in them the desire for self-improvement and social service in a co-operative community.

Self-supporting Aspect of the Scheme : It seems necessary to make a few remarks about the "self-supporting" aspect of the scheme, as this has occasioned considerable misunderstanding. We wish to make it quite clear that we consider the scheme of basic education outlined by the Wardha Conference and here elaborated to be sound in itself. Even if it is not "self-supporting" in any sense, it should be accepted as a matter of sound educational policy and as an urgent measure of national reconstruction. It is fortunate, however, that this good education will also incidentally cover the major portion of its running expenses....

Apart from its financial implications, we are of opinion that a measurable check will be useful in ensuring thoroughness and efficiency in teaching and in the work of the students. Without some such check, there is great danger of work becoming slack and losing all educative value. This is only too obvious from the experience of educationists who from time to time have introduced "manual training" or other "practical activities" in their schools.

But here we must sound a necessary note of warning. There is an obvious danger that in the working of this scheme the economic aspect may be stressed at the sacrifice of the cultural and educational objectives. Teachers may devote most of their attention and energy to extracting the maximum amount of labour from children, while neglecting the intellectual, social and moral implications and possibilities of craft training. This point must be constantly kept in mind in the training of teachers as well as in the direction of the work of the supervisory staff and must colour all educational activity.[1]

It is worth noting that this Report emphasizes, *not* so much the self-supporting aspect of the scheme, as its educational aspects. This was a radical and significant departure from the view of Gandhiji himself who always regarded self-sufficiency as the *acid test* of his proposals.

(c) *Development of Basic Education between* 1937 *and* 1947 : The Report of the Zakir Husain Committee was submitted in December 1937. For the next two years or so, things moved very swiftly and very favourably. The Haripura Congress blessed the scheme (1938) and it was forthwith adopted in several provinces where Congress was in power and in the state of Kashmir where Shri K. G. Saiyidain, who has always been an enthusiastic

[1] *Educational Reconstruction*, pp. 120-6.

supporter of the scheme, was the Director of Education. But the War and the consequent resignation of the Congress Ministries adversely affected the scheme between 1940 and 1945. As the Hindustani Talimi Sangh reports :—

Then came the national movement of 1942-45. This had a profound influence on the development of basic education as on all other aspects of national life. Judged by external standards, the work suffered. Fifteen out of twenty-one members of the Sangh were in jail. Many of the national institutions had to be closed. The most notable was the case of basic schools in Orissa. The two secretaries and all the teachers were arrested, the seven basic schools were closed and the work of basic education in Orissa was totally suspended from August 1942 to March 1944.

The work, however, was not discontinued. The experiments conducted by the Governments of Bihar, Orissa and the State of Kashmir were carried under the direction of their Education Departments.[1] A few non-Government institutions also continued their work though handicapped by the strain of their limited resources. These were the Basic school and the Basic training school conducted by the Jamia Millia Islamia, the Basic school near Poona conducted by the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith and the Basic school and the Basic training school at Sevagram conducted by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. There were, however, no points of contact between the Government and non-Government experiments of basic education. There were no meetings, no conferences, where the workers could exchange and assess the results of their experience. No literature on basic education was published during these years.[2]

With the return of Congress Ministries in 1946, the cause of Basic Education received a new impetus. Action began to be taken in all Provinces and, even in some Indian States, to introduce Basic Education, if it had not been introduced already, and to extend its scope and area of application where it already had been introduced. Basic Education, therefore, figures prominently in all the Five Year Plans of Central, Provincial, and State Governments. By 1947, it could be said that Basic Education had come to stay and that it had passed the experimental stage in the sense that its fundamental principles were accepted as educationally sound, although several details regarding different aspects of the scheme such as correlation, curricula, co-ordination of different stages, etc., were not worked out as completely and as satisfactorily as they ought to have been.

(*d*) *Basic Education after a Decade of Experience:* By 1946-47, therefore, Basic Education had been under trial for about 10 years out of which only in about 4 was the Congress in power. It was not, therefore, possible to expect any *results* beyond a preliminary clearing up of the ground and a clarification of ideas.

[1] Bombay also continued the experiment on these lines.

[2] *Seven Years of Work*, pp. 13-21.

Considered from this point of view, it will be evident from the foregoing review that Basic Education is not a *static* but a *dynamic* concept which, while remaining firmly rooted in certain fundamentals, also gave evidence of its potentiality for adjustment and growth according to the needs of the situation. It would, therefore, be convenient to gather the threads together and try to visualise the form in which Basic Education had emerged after a decade of experimentation and discussion. This is best done by quoting Shri K. G. Saiyidain who wrote:—

Stated in broad outline, the scheme of Basic National Education formulates the following proposals :

(1) Free, universal, and compulsory education should be provided for all boys and girls between the ages of 7 and 14. . . .

(2) This education should be imparted in the mother-tongue of the child and English should not be taught at this stage . . . .

(3) All education should centre round some basic craft chosen with due regard to the capacity of the children and the needs of the locality. The committee suggested spinning and weaving, card-board and wood work, kitchen, gardening and agriculture as obviously suitable crafts. . . .

(4) The selected craft should be so taught and practised that it will make children into good craftsmen and enable them to produce articles which can be used and which may be sold to meet part of the expenditure on the school . . . .

(5) This craft was not to be taught mechanically, but its "why and wherefore", its social and scientific implications, were to be studied side by side . . . .

(6) In this craft-centred education all the subjects to be taught were to be integrally related to the selected craft or the child's physical and social environment. Any subject-matter which could not be related intelligently to one or the other of these three centres was likely to be either unrelated to the child's genuine needs or not important enough and could, therefore, be deleted without any harm . . . .

This fresh approach to the educational problem opens a new chapter in Indian educational history. A careful study of the scheme and its ideology and objectives, as discussed in the Zakir Husain Committee Report brings out certain points of general interest which will repay perusal, because they show the relationship of educational reorganization to the wider problem of social reconstruction. Thus, for instance, it is obvious that the success of such a scheme is bound up with, in fact it imperatively demands, a far-reaching social, political, and economic reconstruction of the country. That is so, not only because an educational venture of this magnitude cannot possibly be put through without increasing enormously the wealth of the country through industrialisation and a more effective utilisation of its natural resources, but also because once education of this kind has been provided for this great mass of people they cannot be kept in poverty and ill health or exploited by vested interests. They will demand, and get, their legitimate economic, social, and cultural rights, and thus "education will prove a long-range investment, paying its dividends in the shape of happier, healthier, and more enlightened men and women."

Again, the scheme makes a conscious attempt to link up education with the socio-political realities of life. It envisages the school not as a training ground for

certain services and professions meant for a small section of the urban population, but as an agency for the practical and social education of hundreds of millions of the rural population in whose life the central and significant factor is work, which is made the centre and medium of education, thus breaking down the artificial walls dividing the school from life.

It is inspired in its ideology as well as its methods and contents by a certain vision of society based on co-operation, truth, non-violence, and social equality. Mahatma Gandhi was emphatic in the view that this Basic Education was not to be regarded as just a new technique of teaching, but as a way of life which tried to realise certain values held as supreme. It is too early to assess how far Basic Schools have, in practice, succeeded in achieving these objectives, but there is no doubt that, during its early stages when the attitude has often been experimental and the number of schools limited, these objectives have determined to a noticeable extent the pattern of work and activities in Basic Schools.[1]

7. **Adult Education (1937-47).** The second distinctive contribution of the Congress Ministries was the organisation of large-scale campaigns to liquidate adult illiteracy. Their view of this problem can be best illustrated by a quotation from the speech of Dr. Syed Mahmud, the Education Minister in Bihar, delivered in his capacity as the Chairman of the Adult Education Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education (1939):—

Gentlemen, we are assembled here to discuss the momentous question of educating the millions of our illiterate brethren. I need hardly emphasize the importance of Adult Education as a foundation on which must be based the development of the social, economic and political life of this ancient land of ours. As long as the masses remain steeped in illiteracy and ignorance, economic and social upbuilding of the nation will remain a pious dream. 'The liquidation of illiteracy' in the words of Lenin, 'is not a political problem; it is a condition without which it is impossible to speak of politics. An illiterate man is outside of politics, and before he can be brought in he must first be taught the alphabet. Without this there can be no politics—only rumours, gossip, tales, superstitions.' Realising this, almost every province and several States during the past year have launched experiments in Adult Education, and the time has now come to take stock of the progress made and compare notes with a view to formulate plans for the promotion of this great movement on a nation-wide basis.

It is essential that we should keep before us the aims and objectives of the Adult Education Movement. In Western countries, Adult Education aims at extending and expanding the minimum school education received by the labourers and farmers; but in a country like India with her extremely low percentage of literacy and her backward socio-economic organization the objectives of this movement should be (1) to teach the illiterate adult the three R's, and (2) to impart knowledge closely correlated to his working life and give him a grounding in citizenship. These two aspects are closely inter-connected as mere literacy without the broader aspects of education would not equip him to lead a better and fuller life and no sound adult education is feasible without a minimum of literacy. It is essential that these two processes should be carried on simultaneously as to a large extent they are complementary to one another.

[1] *Year-Book of Education* (Evans Bros.), 1949, pp. 503-6.

No Government can make any appreciable headway with its schemes for the promotion of the socio-economic welfare of its people unless the people are prepared to meet the Government halfway and offer it responsible co-operation. The efforts of the Nation-building Departments will succeed and their results be maximized only when the people are able to appreciate intelligently and execute in practice the suggestions made by them. This responsive co-operation is only feasible when the people possess some amount of education. No Government can afford today to be blind to the imperative need of the expansion of primary education; but for the speeding up of the tempo of the progress of the education of boys and girls a sympathetic atmosphere and the helpful co-operation of the parents is an urgent necessity, and this cannot be achieved unless and until the parents themselves realize the importance of education. Thus adult education is no less important for the expansion and completion of our programme of primary education.[1]

Every Province and several States, as Dr. Syed Mahmud has observed, took up this problem with zest in 1937-38. But the tempo of the movement unfortunately died out after the resignation of the Congress Ministries in 1940. It was only when the popular Ministries reassumed office in 1946 that the work was restarted and some progress was achieved by 1946-47.[2]

8. **Post-War Development Plans.** We have so far dealt with the actual achievements of this period. These may be considered to be creditable enough in view of the very short time that the popular ministries were in office, and the difficulties created by War. But the more distinctive feature of this period was *not* actual achievements, but the preparation of plans for reconstruction of education in future. In no other period in the history of Indian education was so much time and attention given to the preparation of plans for the comprehensive reconstruction of education in general and for the development of a national system of education in particular. These plans were prepared in both the circles—official and non-official—and at both the levels—Central and Provincial. Among them, the following plans deserve a special mention:—

(*a*) *All-India Plans*
- (*i*) Plan of educational reconstruction prepared by the National Planning Committee ;
- (*ii*) Plan of educational reconstruction prepared by the All-India Educational Conference ; and
- (*iii*) Plan of Post-War Educational Development in India prepared by the Central Advisory Board of Education.

[1] *Report of the Adult Education Committee* (1939), p. 54.

[2] For details, *vide* Nurullah and Naik: *History of Education in India during the British Period*, pp. 814-24.

(*b*) *Individual Government Plans*

(*i*) Five-year Plan of educational reconstruction prepared by the Government of India ;

(*ii*) Five-year Plan of Post-War development prepared by all Provincial Governments ; and

(*iii*) Five-year Plan of Post-War development prepared by leading Indian States.

Of all these plans, the most important was the plan of Post-War Educational Development in India prepared by the Central Advisory Board of Education, popularly known as the Sargent Plan which we shall now briefly notice.

9. **Post-War Plan of Educational Development, 1944.** The Central Advisory Board of Education had engaged itself, ever since its revival in 1935, in examining critically one aspect of Indian education after another. By 1943, therefore, it had reached a stage when it could consolidate all its findings and prepare a comprehensive plan of educational development in India. This idea was given a further impetus by the official drive for planning that started at this time. All Governments in India were now required to prepare plans of Post-War Development and, as a part of the general scheme, the Central Advisory Board of Education also was called upon to prepare a plan of post-war educational development and submit it to the Executive Council of the Governor-General for consideration. Accordingly, the Board submitted a detailed report on *Post-War Educational Development in India*, commonly known as the *Sargent Report*, in 1944. As the first official attempt to plan a national system of education for India, it deserves a careful study.

The *object* of the plan was *to create in India, in a period of not less than forty years, the same standard of educational attainments as had already been admitted in England.* With this end in view, it provided for—

(*a*) Pre-Primary education for children between 3 and 6 years of age;

(*b*) Universal, compulsory, and free Primary or Basic education for all children between the ages of 6 and 14, divided into the Junior Basic (6-11) and Senior Basic (11-14) stages;

(*c*) High School education for six years for selected children between the ages of 11 and 17;

(*d*) A university course of three years beginning after the Higher Secondary Examination for selected students;

(*e*) Technical, commercial, and art education for full-time and part-time students on an adequate scale;

(*f*) The liquidation of adult illiteracy and the development of public libraries system in about 20 years;

(*g*) Full provision for the proper training of teachers required for the implementing and continuation of the scheme;

(*h*) The organisation of compulsory physical education, medical inspection followed by after treatment, and provision of milk and mid-day meals for undernourished children;

(*i*) The creation of employment bureaus;

(*j*) The education of the physically and mentally handicapped children; and

(*k*) Social and recreational activities on a fairly liberal scale.

The proposals of the Report on some important problems are given below.

For *primary education* the Report has adopted the scheme of Basic Education with some modifications. It says:—

Basic (Primary and Middle) education, as envisaged by the Central Advisory Board, embodies many of the educational ideas contained in the Original Wardha Scheme, though it differs from it in certain important particulars. The main principle of "learning through activity" has been endorsed by educationists all over the world. At the lower stages the activity will take many forms, leading gradually up to a basic craft or crafts suited to local conditions. So far as possible the whole of the curriculum will be harmonised with this general conception. The three R's by themselves can no longer be regarded as an adequate equipment for efficient citizenship. The Board, however, are unable to endorse the view that education at any stage and particularly in the lowest stages can or should be expected to pay for itself through the sale of articles produced by the pupils. The most which can be expected in this respect is that sales should cover the cost of the additional materials and equipment required for practical work. . . . On leaving (the school), the pupil should be prepared to take his place in the community as a worker and as a future citizen. He should also be inspired with the desire to continue his education through such means as a national system of education may place at his disposal. With this end in view, the Senior Basic School should afford the widest possible opportunities for those corporate activities including physical training and organised games, which are essential to supplement the instruction given in the class-room.[1]

[1] pp. 7-8.

"The function of the *High School*" says the Report, "is to cater for those children who are well above the average in ability".[1] It will, therefore, only admit pupils selected on the basis of "abilities, aptitudes, and general promise". The selection will take place at the age of 11+when the Junior Basic course would have been over. The Report estimates that about 20 per cent of the children attending Junior Basic schools will be admitted to High Schools. Every child entering a High School shall remain under compulsion until the age of 14+. Even after this period, steps are to be taken to see that children are not withdrawn from the school before the completion of the course.

The High Schools will charge adequate fees. But 50 per cent of the pupils will be provided with free studentships or similar concessions and poverty shall not be allowed to be a bar to the education of a deserving child. A pupil who does not happen to be selected shall not ordinarily be allowed to enter a High School. But "the Board would not object to places being provided for such children in the condition that these are in addition to those required for children selected on the ground of ability and that the parents concerned are required to pay the *whole cost of the education provided.* It would appear inequitable to spend *public money* on providing higher education for those who have not shown that they are likely to take full advantage of it".[2]

The aim of High School education is defined by the Report in the following words:—

> High School education should on no account be considered simply as a preliminary to University education, but as a stage complete in itself. . . . While it will remain a very important function of the High Schools to pass on their most able pupils to Universities or other institutions of equivalent standard the large majority of High School leavers should receive an education that will fit them for direct entry into occupations and professions. . . . though a certain percentage of them may be expected to require further training for a period of one to three years, either full-time or part-time, in order to qualify themselves for posts that require special skill.[3]

The reorganised High Schools, according to the Report should be of two main types—the Academic and the Technical.

> The Academic High School will impart instruction in the Arts and pure Sciences; while the Technical High School will provide training in the applied sciences and industrial and commercial subjects. In both types the course in

[1] p. 18.
[2] p. 10.
[3] p. 20.

the Junior departments covering the present Middle stage will be very much the same and there will be a common core of the 'humanities' throughout. Art and Music should form an integral part of the curriculum in both and all girls should take a course in domestic science. . . . Transfer from one type to the other should be made as easy as possible at any rate up to the end of the Junior courses. . . . . In smaller centres which can only be served economically by single High Schools, the individual Schools should be required to offer as wide a choice of courses as possible. In rural areas . . . . an agricultural bias should be given to the curriculum.[1]

The medium of instruction in *all* High Schools should be the mother-tongue of the pupils. English should be a compulsory second language.

The list of subjects to be taught in both the types of High School is given. The list is suggestive and it is not intended that every pupil should be taught all the subjects. Subjects common to both the types : (1) The mother-tongue, (2) English, (3) Modern languages, (4) History (Indian and World), (5) Geography (Indian and World), (6) Mathematics, (7) Science, (8) Economics, (9) Agriculture, (10) Art, (11) Music, (12) Physical Training. In the Academic High School Classical Languages and Civics are added to the common list. In the Technical High Schools the Science subjects are to be studied more intensively. Technological subjects, such as wood and metal work, elementary engineering, measured drawing, etc., and commercial subjects, like book-keeping, shorthand, typewriting, accountancy, commercial practice, etc., are also to be added to the common list. In the case of girls, among other subjects, domestic science should be one of the options.

The Report points out certain defects in the present state of affairs in *Indian Universities.* The gravest of these is their failure to relate their activities sufficiently closely to the practical needs of the Community as a whole. There is no systematic attempt on their part to adjust the output to the capacity of the employment market to absorb it. A great deal too much importance is attached to examinations, and the examinations themselves put a premium on book learning of a narrow kind at the expense of original thinking and real scholarship. In the absence of any proper selection beyond what is provided by an admittedly easy matriculation examination, they have opened their doors to many students whom a more searching test would have debarred from entry. The position is further complicated

[1] pp. 20-21.

by the absence of any general and liberal arrangements for assisting students of real ability who are prevented by poverty from seeking admission to Universities. Probably nowhere among the Universities of the world is there so large a proportion of failures in examinations as in Indian Universities.

The Report summarises its recommendations on University education in the following words :—

Indian Universities, as they exist to-day, despite many admirable features do not fully satisfy the requirements of a national system of education. In order to raise standards all round, the conditions of admission must be revised with the object of ensuring that all students are capable of taking full advantage of a University course. The proposed reorganization of the High School System will facilitate this. Adequate financial assistance must be provided for poor students. The present Intermediate Course should be abolished. Ultimately the whole of this course should be covered in the High School, but as an immediate step the first year of the course should be transferred to High School and the second to Universities. The minimum length of a University Course should be three years (in certain subjects longer). The tutorial system should be widely extended and closer personal contacts established between teachers and students. The importance of establishing a high standard in post-graduate studies and particularly in pure and applied research should be emphasised. Steps should be taken to improve the conditions of service, including remuneration of University and College Teachers where those now in operation are not attracting men and women of the requisite calibre.[1]

Regarding the drafting High School leavers to the University Courses, the Report presumes that one in fifteen of them will reach the level requisite for entrance to the University. It is also contemplated that in order to enable poor but deserving students to have University education nearly one-third of the students in the Colleges and Universities, will have to be given maintenance grants.

In respect of *Technical and Vocational Education,* the Report divides the workers needed by Indian Arts and Industries into four categories :—

(*a*) *Chief Executives and Research Workers of the Future :* These will normally have their preliminary training in a Technical High School and will then pass to the Technological Department of a University or to a full-time Course of the National Diploma type in a Technical Institution. The admission to these Courses should be the outcome of a very strict process of selection. They will not be many.

(*b*) *Minor Executives, Foremen, Charge Hands, etc :* It is the main aim of the Technical High School to satisfy this need: but the Technical High School pupil will be required to continue his technical education either by taking a National Diploma or Certificate Course or by attending part-time classes of a fairly advanced description.

[1] pp. 32-3.

(*c*) *Skilled Craftsmen :* These may be recruited from Technical High School pupils; but as a rule after passing through the Senior Basic School where they will have mastered the rudiments of craft work, they will go to Junior Technical Trade or Industrial Schools for a further two or three years' full-time Course.

(*d*) *Semi-skilled and Unskilled Labour :* They will be recruited mostly directly from Senior Basic (Middle) Schools where they will have done some craft work. It is important to afford these persons facilities both for continuing their general education and for improving their skill, so that the best of them may ultimately ascend to the skilled class.

It makes adequate provision for the efficient training of all these types of workers. Over and above this, the Report points out, there is very urgent need in India of what is called the part-time system. Part-time day classes (or the sandwich system) constitute a factor of great importance in any modern scheme for technical education. The students of these classes will be working in factories and other industrial or commercial concerns as paid workers and they will be given due facilities for improving the knowledge and skill required for their daily work. The advantages of this part-time system are many. This type of technical instruction (part-time) is likely to overlap the sphere of Adult Education which will also impart some vocational training. The responsible administrative authorities should see to it that no overlapping takes place.

The role of *Adult Education*, according to the Report, is to make every possible member of a State an effective and efficient citizen and thus to give reality to the ideal of democracy. . . . In India, so far the general attitude has been to regard adult education as connoting adult literacy. The reason is obvious, for the problem in this country is vastly different from what it is in Western countries. A child must learn to walk before he can run; an adult must be literate before he can hope to derive any benefit from facilities for education in the wider sense. . . . The main emphasis in this country must, for some time to come, be on literacy, although from the very beginning some provision must be made for adult education proper, so that those made literate may have an inducement as well as an opportunity to pursue their studies.[1]

The Report makes the following observations regarding the organisation of a programme of Adult Education:—

The normal age range of adult education should be 10 plus to 40.

As far as possible, separate classes should be organized, preferably during the day-time, for boys between ten and sixteen years, as it is undesirable, from many points of view, to mix boys and men in adult classes. It would also be preferable to have separate classes for young girls, but the objection to mix young girls and women is not so serious as in the case of boys and men, and may be easily out-weighed by the factor of resources available and other practical consideration.

In order to make adult instruction interesting and effective, it is necessary to make fullest possible use of visual and mechanical aids such as pictures,

[1] p. 46.

illustrations, artistic and other objects, the magic-lantern, the cinema, the gramophone, the radio, etc., dancing, particularly folk dancing, music, both vocal and instrumental and dramas will also be useful.

It is necessary to provide numerous and adequate libraries. Obviously a very large library system will be necessary in a country like India, but with a properly organized scheme of circulating libraries and exchange of books the cost need not be prohibitive.

Although substantial help can be had from voluntary organizations, the problem of adult education as a whole is so far too vast to be within the capacity of unaided voluntary effort. The State must accept the primary responsibility for tackling the problem.

The problem of adult education for women has its own difficulties and special efforts will have to be made to overcome them.

The enrolment per class of adults should not exceed 25.

The full working of the scheme cannot be started immediately. The first five years must be devoted to planning, to the recruitment and training of teachers and to general setting up of necessary organisation.[1]

Regarding the *recruitment and training of teachers*, the Report assumes that one teacher will be required for every 30 pupils in the Pre-basic and Junior Basic Schools, for every 25 pupils in Senior Basic Schools and for every 20 pupils in High Schools. The minimum qualification for a teacher is prescribed as the completion of the High School Course followed by a training of two years in case of teachers in Pre-Basic and Junior Basic Schools and three years in Senior Basic Schools. The non-graduate teachers in High Schools are expected to undergo a training course of two years and the graduates would receive one year's training.

For the basis of selection of candidates for teachers' posts the following method followed in some parts of England is suggested. "Suitable pupils who wish to become teachers are picked out during the last two years of their High School Course. They are kept under observation by Heads and Inspectors and are given the opportunity of visiting other schools and trying their hand at actual teaching. Doubtful cases are sifted by this means. Such pupils often receive special stipends."[2]

In order to attract the proper type of persons to the teaching profession, the Report proposes to revise the scales of pay to be given to all grades of teachers—particularly to the teachers at the primary stage who are paid very low salaries at present. Tentatively, the Report has proposed new and reasonable scales of pay for the consideration of Provincial Governments.

[1] pp. 48-52.
[2] p. 59.

The financial implications of the scheme of National Education propounded in the Report are that it would involve a total expenditure of Rs. 31,260 lakhs out of which Rs. 27,700 lakhs would have to come from public funds. In this connection, the following points should be noted :—

(*a*) The estimates are based on pre-war standards both in regard to population and cost of living.

(*b*) The cost has been worked out as if a start had to be made from the very beginning. The sum then spent on education in British India (Rs. 30 crores, out of which Rs. 17½ crores were from public funds) is to be taken as a reserve towards meeting the cost, in part at any rate, of providing for the prospective increase in population during the period which must elapse before a national scheme is in full operation.

(*c*) It is assumed throughout that capital expenditure on school sites and buildings will be met out of loans in future. Provision has been made for interest and sinking fund charges only.

Criticism of the Report : Such is the plan for educational reconstruction in India that the Central Advisory Board of Education proposed. It has been discussed and criticised from many points of view and has provided the basis of a good part of the thinking on this issue even after Independence.

To begin with, we may mention those features of the Report which are commendable and which have attracted considerable notice and appreciation. These can be best stated in the words of Shri K. G. Saiyidain :—

What is the wider significance of this scheme ? It is the first comprehensive scheme of national education ; it does not start with the assumption, implicit in all previous Government schemes, that India was destined to occupy a position of educational inferiority in the country of nations; it is based on the conviction that what other countries have achieved in the field of education is well within the competence of this country. The mere formulation of such a scheme ensures that no other scheme which proposes any half-hearted, piecemeal changes or merely tinkers with the idea of expansion can ever be seriously entertained.

Secondly, it is inspired by the desire to provide equality of opportunity at different stages of education. At the primary stage it envisages not merely the provision of free schooling but also of other facilities without which the poorer children cannot fully avail themselves of the educational opportunities—midday meal, books, scholarships, medical inspection and treatment. At higher stages, free places and scholarships are proposed for all bright and deserving students. This is by no means that full measure of educational equality which an enlightened sense of social justice demands, but it is certainly a welcome step forward towards that goal and would be a great improvement on the existing situation.

Thirdly, it stresses in clear terms the importance of the teaching profession and makes proposals for increasing its miserable standard of salaries and poor conditions of service. It lays down a minimum national scale of salaries, and provides for its adjustment in accordance with the rise in the cost of living. This

national scale has already been accepted and given effect to in many Provinces (with certain modifications, not always favourable to teachers), but it has not had as bracing and stimulating an effect on the profession as was expected—because the rise in prices has been quicker and steeper than the rise in salaries.[1]

This is what can be said in favour of the Report. On the other hand, its shortcomings were so many and so important that it has failed to satisfy many Indian educationists. To begin with, it placed a very tame ideal before the country. As the Report itself admitted, India would reach the educational standard of the England of 1939 in a period of not less than 40 years ! In other words, even assuming that the plan were fully implemented, the India of 1984 would still be nearly 50 years behind England ! This ideal did not naturally satisfy any ardent educationist. An acceptable plan of educational development in India had been spread over a much shorter range of time, not exceeding 15 years.

The main reason for which the Report fixed the period for implementing the plan at forty years was the impossibility of obtaining the necessary number of qualified and trained teachers in a shorter time. The assumption of the Report appeared to be that no one should be appointed as a teacher under the scheme until he had received the prescribed minimum of general and professional education. This was an idealistic concept which has hardly any justification in the past experiences of this or any other country in the world, not excluding England herself. The minimum qualifications mentioned in the Report were accepted as ideal, but they could, under no circumstances, be allowed to prevent or postpone the expansion of education. It ought to have been, as it actually was, possible for India to commence a programme of educational development, just as other countries in the world did theirs, with such men as were immediately available and simultaneously to work out a programme of improving and training the personnel of the teaching profession. If the requisite number of persons were not forthcoming on a voluntary basis, we could not hesitate to conscript educated men and women for the purpose. It is already an accepted principle that men can be conscripted for war. There is no reason why they could not be conscripted in a war against ignorance and illiteracy. It was also held by many that the programme

[1] *Year Book of Education* (Evans Brothers), 1949, p. 507.

of an eight-year universal education was too ambitious a target to aim at in the first instance, and that a shorter period of elementary education might be visualised and achieved over a shorter period.

The financial implications of the Report also came in for a good deal of comment. The cost of working out the scheme would come to about Rs. 313 crores, on the basis of the population of India as it was in 1940. If allowance were made for the growth of population during the time that would be required to implement this scheme, and for the rise in the standard of life and cost of living, the total cost of the scheme would be in the order of Rs. 1,000 crores per annum ! Even assuming that large-scale developments in industry and agriculture could be introduced and that the standard of income of the people would rise, it appeared doubtful if India could afford this huge expenditure. It was, therefore, opined that, on financial grounds, the scheme is too Utopian to be practicable.

It was pointed out that the scheme merely described the ideal to be reached and does not give a detailed *programme* of development. A mere statement of the ideal to be reached is a comparatively simple matter in educational planning. It would be equally easy for anyone to set up a still higher ideal than the one which the scheme has adopted for itself, to work out its financial implications and to place it before the country as a plan for educational reconstruction. Such an attempt was not enough. What was needed was a *programme* which described, in detail, the various stages through which the country would have to march before it reached the goal. This aspect of the problem had been entirely ignored in the Report. The only suggestion that it made was that, if all the funds required were not available, the scheme might be introduced in one area after another. Needless to say, such a programme was not likely to be accepted by any intelligent section of the people.

It has been pointed out that the only ideal held up by the Report is that of the educational system of England, while, as a matter of fact, England is the one country which could not very well serve as a model to India, because the social, political and economic conditions in the two countries are so vastly different. If India had to have a model, she could look for it elsewhere in eastern countries like China or Egypt or Turkey or in western agricultural

countries like Denmark or Soviet Russia, all of which had many problems similar to those of India, and which have been able to achieve splendid results in a very short time.

To quote but one example, let us see how Russia solved her educational problems. In 1914 the Russian Empire had a population of about 140 million and the school-going population was only 1 million. There were large tracts of the Empire, particularly towards the east, in which there was hardly any provision for education, and literacy was even less than one per cent. There were as many as 200 minority nations speaking over 150 different languages, some of which had hardly any literature and a number were mere dialects without even a script. In spite of these tremendous handicaps the Government of Soviet Russia was able to achieve surprising results. In a period of about 15 years, it could raise the literacy of the people to more than 90 per cent in some parts and to more than 70 per cent in every other part of its vast territories. It had to substitute the Latin script for the original scripts in several languages and to devise new alphabets in the Latin script for more than 40 dialects. It has introduced a compulsory course of primary education of 7 years in every part of its territories. These achievements have transformed the position of the Russian people from one of semi-barbarism to one of the most powerful civilised nations in the world.

Compared with the conditions in Russia in 1914, the conditions in India in 1947 were very much better, and what Soviet Russia could achieve for her people in a period of about 15 years should not have been impossible to achieve in India in the same, if not in an even shorter, period. The estimate of the Sargent Report, therefore, that a period of not less than 40 years would be required for working out the plan did not appear likely to be accepted as a practical proposition by the builders of a free India.

10. **The End of the British Rule (15th August, 1947).** The foregoing review of the educational developments between 1937 and 1947 will show that its most outstanding feature was the preparation of plans for a comprehensive educational reconstruction in India. Hitherto, educational policies had been a matter of drift, more or less dependent on the chance interest which the heads of administration had shown in it. A Viceroy like Ripon or Curzon would create interest in education throughout India

and generate a wave of reform; an enthusiastic D.P.I. like H.S. Reid, Arnold or Sir Alexander Grant would vitalize the whole educational system of the Province under his charge. But such men of vision and capacity were only few and far between and, on the whole, the educational policies in India between 1813 and 1937 were characteristic of the British genius for "muddling through to success". The idea of a plan, of a *prescribed goal* to be reached within a *specified time* by the adoption of *well-co-ordinated programmes* was new to the educational system of India and when it was officially accepted during this period, the innovation was welcomed in all quarters. But the preparation of an agreed plan was not an easy matter and it kept Government busy almost till the end of the period under review; and hardly had the first steps been taken for the implementation of the first Five Year Plans by the Central and Provincial Governments, when the British Power was withdrawn from India on 15th August, 1947, and the British Period in the history of Indian education came to an end.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

EDUCATION IN INDIA DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD

A RETROSPECT

We have now reached the end of a long journey. Taking our stand on 15th August, 1947, therefore, we can afford to pause and cast our glance backwards in *retrospect* over the achievements and failures of the last two hundred years. Such a retrospect of the history can now be carried out more *critically* and *dispassionately* than in the past. So long as the British held the political power in India, almost all educational controversies had a political bias. The Englishmen over-rated certain aspects of their contribution to justify the British Rule in India and attributed the shortcomings of their achievements to causes beyond their control. Their usual reply to hostile criticism was that it emphasized "what was omitted and what is still to do" and ignored "what has been accomplished, what has been well done, with what means, in face of what difficulties, with what purpose, and with what measure, what promise, of success".[1] On the other hand, Indians pointed out the failures of British educational policy in India, compared the pace of educational advance in India with that in England herself, or in independent Eastern countries (like Japan or Turkey), or even with that in the dependencies of other nations (like the Philippines) and argued that modern education in India had failed to solve national problems and that its few blessings, such as they were, could hardly be held to compensate for the evils of political slavery or economic exploitation. The political bias in these views is self-evident and now that the prime cause of this bias has ceased to exist, the possibility of an impartial and more critical evaluation of educational history becomes obvious. Today, the Englishman is as ready to admit his mistakes as the Indian is to admit the valuable contributions of England to Indian life and thought; and with this change in the roles, we are brought nearer the truth than at any time in the past.

2. **Failure to Evolve a National System of Education.** The principal charge against British educational administration

[1] O'Malley: *Modern India and the West*, p. 179.

in India is that it failed to create a national system of education for the country. This is hardly disputed. British responsibility for Indian education largely ceased with its transfer to Indian control in 1921; and at that time, the official system had not even recognised the concept of national education. But even assuming, for the sake of argument, that the Britishers always continued to be indirectly responsible for the education of the people, the utmost that they could be credited with having done was to *visualise* a national system of education for the country and present it to the people in the form of the Post-war Plan of Educational Development (1944). This Plan, however, is far from satisfactory; and even if it were not so, the charge still remains that hardly any action was taken on it till 15th August, 1947.

In the years between 1904 when Curzon created the first great storm over educational issues and 1937 when Indians obtained almost complete control of education, it was the *fact* of this failure that formed a subject of controversy. Official historians went to one extreme and put forward tall claims in support of British educational policy. Nationalists went to the other extreme and declared that British Rule had ruined India culturally and spiritually. But these extremes are now things of the past; the *fact* of the failure is now readily admitted; and consequently, the attention of educationists is directed to ascertaining the *reasons* for this failure so that the mistakes of the past may be avoided in the future.

Our survey of educational history during the last century and a half reveals that the British failure to create a national system of education in India was mainly due to the following reasons :—

(*a*) *Failure to Realise the Place of India in the Comity of Nations :* A national system of education is a means to an end and can only be organised as a corollary to the role which one desires the nation itself to play. The imperialistic nature of the British power prevented it from visualising a self-respecting and independent India. The missionaries looked upon her as a recruiting ground for Christianity ; the Company generally regarded her as a field for commerce and profits; the Despatch of 1854 referred to her as the producer of raw materials or the buyer of the finished products of British industries ; Curzon considered her as an eternal field for the civilizing influence

of the British administrator ; and until the end of the Second World War, all declarations of official policy were characterised by the same blind refusal to visualise India as a sovereign, independent nation with her own unique and valuable contribution to make to universal culture. There is obviously no room for a national system of education within the four corners of such an imperialist political philosophy.

(*b*) *Failure to Evolve a Synthesis of East and West :* Another reason for the failure of British educational administration was its inability to bring about a proper synthesis between the East and the West. The missionaries could not do so because of their emphasis on proselytisation, their tendency to regard Christianity and Western culture as inseparable allies, and their inability to look reverently on ancient Indian traditions and culture. The British officials could have done this; but very few of them saw the desirability of the step and fewer still could feel their way to achieve it. Some were great admirers of Eastern culture, no doubt; but more often than not, they lost their sense of proportion and glorified the past in the same way as Indian chauvinists did. However, it was not these Orientalists who set the tune. Educational policies were mostly framed by that large majority of British officials who believed, with Kipling, that "East is East and West is West; and never the twain shall meet". Victorian smugness with its patronizing attitude was particularly bad in this respect. It regarded Indians as "lesser breeds without the law", sneered at "Babu English", tried to classify educated persons as "loyal" and "disloyal", put a ban on the admission of Indians to European clubs and generally created such an atmosphere of reserve and aloofness that a synthesis of cultures became difficult, if not impossible. Racial hostilities that arose out of these attitudes became worse in an atmosphere of political conflict, with the result that most nationalist Indians evolved a defiant and challenging, instead of a receptive, attitude to Western culture. On the whole, therefore, it may be said that no planned and large-scale official attempt to bring about a synthesis of the East and the West was made during the period under review. A few individuals showed a fine blending of the two cultures in their lives and radiated a peculiar sweetness and light around them. A few institutions tried to work it out through their educational programmes; and these experiments—

which were always non-official—helped to keep the concept alive. But they could not be regarded as a compensation for the non-recognition of the ideal by the official system of education.

(*c*) *Inadequate Aims :* The third reason for the failure of British educational administration is the inadequacy of aims formulated for it from time to time. Warren Hastings and Duncan mostly desired the political conciliation of those classes of society whom the British conquest had deprived of political power and influence; the Charter Act of 1813 talked of the revival and improvement of Oriental literatures and the encouragement of "learned natives"; the Despatch of 1854 spoke of the "diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe"; the Commission of 1882 did not discuss the issue at all; Curzon talked of remedying "the inherent defects of the Indian intellect"; and the Resolution of 1913 declared the "formation of character" to be the main objective of educational policy. From the earliest days, the utilitarian objective of training Indians for employment in Government departments was always in the picture, though the emphasis placed upon it varied from time to time. The altruistic note of training Indians for self-government was also chanted now and then, Macaulay and Metcalfe were amongst the earliest of those who spoke of it with pride and conviction; Grant was not sure of it though he would not have regretted it; but the average official was afraid of the probable demand for *swaraj* that India might put forward and tried to postpone the evil day as far as he could by all means in his power. Consequently, training for self-government was more a by-product than a deliberate objective of British educational policy. It is of course evident that each one of these objectives has a legitimate place of its own. But neither singly, nor taken together, do they give a coherent and comprehensive definition of the aims worthy of a national system of education for India. It is now universally admitted that unless an educational system is based upon a clear realisation of the "abundant life" that it should seek to provide, all discussion of legislation, codes, memoranda, curricula and examinations merely leads one into wilderness. But the discussion of aims in the context of life as a whole is the one thing that modern education in India has always lacked although innumerable officials, committees, Commissions and Reports have discussed

many other problems at tiresome length. The first attempt in this direction is the excellent Chapter on the "Aims of University Education" which occurs in the Report of the Indian Universities Commission (1949). But that was a creation of "free" India and came *after* the end of the British Rule.

(*d*) *Adoption of Wrong Methods :* If the non-formulation of adequate aims was one weakness of British educational administration, its harmful effect was further enhanced by the adoption of certain wrong methods. Foremost of these was the neglect of the indigenous system of education which resulted in its almost complete extinction by about 1900. Extreme dependence on English models, and the attempt to impose upon India a cheap imitation of all types of schemes and ideas that were evolved in England was another wrong step. England is urban, industrialised and rich; India is rural, agricultural and poor. This contrast in the socio-economic background makes England a poor model for India. But the British administrators took it for granted that the English model, after a good deal of dilution, was all that India need ever have. This assumption made them neglect the indigenous traditions as well as the patterns of those progressive countries of the world which are closer to India in their socio-economic structure. In fact, one cannot help feeling that Indian education has all along been like a Cinderella tied to the apron-strings of the Educational System of England—and that precisely, has been the tragedy of our educational system. The adoption of the Downward Filtration Theory was also a wrong method because it gave a temporary set-back in so far as mass education is concerned. The universal use of English as a medium of instruction, the emphasis on its teaching at the secondary and collegiate stages, the belief that English would become, and continue to be, the national language for the country as a whole, and the consequent neglect of modern Indian languages were another group of decisions that history has shown to be unwise. Instances of this type could be easily multiplied. They all show a failure correctly to visualise the situation and to look at things from the Indian point of view. Rawlinson is quite right when he concludes that the failure of the British Rule in India, in so far as it was a failure, was due to a sheer want of imagination.[1]

[1] H. G. Rawlinson : *The British Achievement in India*, p. 241.

(*e*) *Failure to Develop India Socially, Economically and Politically* : Education cannot be planned in a vacuum and educational progress is always broadly proportional to the social, political and economic advancement of a nation. Certain aspects of British Rule were inimical to such advancement. For instance, the doctrine of religious neutrality was interpreted to mean non-interference in all matters of social reforms as well. Consequently, evils like untouchability, or child-marriages could not be fought with the help of State-aid and penal legislation. In these matters, therefore, some of the Indian States showed better progress than British India itself. It would, however, be difficult to blame the British official for his neutral attitude. He could probably have done nothing better, especially as it was politically expedient for him not to raise a hornet's nest. But it must also be admitted that a doctrine of non-interference in social matters is not really a colourless decision. It strengthens materially the forces of orthodoxy and to that extent, hinders the progress of true education. Similarly, the political dependence of India created difficulties in educational progress. In order to create a strong feeling of national solidarity, the first objective of national education in India ought to have been to bring all the different religions, communities and castes in a common democratic system of public schools. But politically, the growth of such a solidarity was not desirable. Hence no planned and vigorous attempts were made to create communal and religious harmony; nay, sometimes, the game of "divide and rule" was played in too obvious a manner; and the education of the two great communities—Hindus and Muslims—was allowed to grow (or was even planned) in isolation from each other. Thirdly, the economic aspects of British Rule were far from happy and it is now generally admitted that the poverty of the people increased very greatly in the last 150 years. Against such a worsening economic background no educational progress is ever possible. In other words, the British Rule could not, did not, or would not develop the social, political and economic side of Indian life. As national education is at once the cause and the effect of the regeneration of the social, political and economic life of a people, the British administration could not evolve a truly national system of education for India.

(*f*) *Failure to Secure the Necessary Personnel :* One of the most potent causes of the failure of British educational administration was its inability to mobilize the necessary personnel to plan and organise a national system of education in India. Admittedly, the task was stupendous and difficult and even a partial accomplishment of the task would have required the life-long services of a large number of good educationists from England. But the first-rate educationists that England sent to India were too few. The missionaries, it is true, sent out some great men like Duff or Wilson. But their contribution was limited by the fact that missionary enterprise itself could play only a useful but subsidiary role in Indian education. The official fields were not all barren. Arnold from the Punjab or Sir Alexander Grant from Bombay and a few others hold a very honoured place in the official ranks. Amongst those who were not connected with the Education Department but who did good service to Indian education, the greatest name is that of Sir Michael Sadler. But such great men are a microscopic minority as compared with the endless stream of European officers of Education Departments that came to India between 1854 and 1924. Sir Alexander Grant was fundamentally right when he said that the conditions of service in the Education Department were not such as to attract good officers. Even the creation of the I. E. S. in 1896 did not improve matters. When one considers the great military talent that England sent out to India, the galaxy of great names that illumines the history of the I.C.S. or the Judiciary, even the great engineers, doctors and surveyors that worked in and for India, one is struck by the small stature of the average European official of the Indian Education Departments. After all, no system of administration can be greater in stature than the personnel which composes it; and looking to the average English official of the Education Department that came to India, one is not surprised at Gokhale's remark that the Indian Education Departments typified the "narrow, bigoted and inexpansive rule of experts".[1]

One thing has to be said in favour of the officials of the Education Departments. Did they receive a fair deal from their comrades in other departments ? The answer is an emphatic No. Education was never in the forefront of British

[1] A. Mayhew : *The Education of India*, p. 9.

Indian Administration and was never accorded top-priority, except probably when it led to politically inconvenient results. Even as late as 1921, Mayhew complained that the "experienced Secretary, after spending his morning energy on financial and judicial files" generally drafted his educational resolution "with the sinking sun" and reminded educationists that their task was "the formation of character and the training of good and productive citizens and that their methods must be good and effective within the limits prescribed by economy and public opinion".[1] These sarcastic remarks show how the Departmental officers had to struggle against the indifference of Government and the stony hearts of the finance departments. This is the burden of the song all through history. The drive for educational reconstruction required the support of the whole might of Government and of the officials of all departments. Even when *all* officials were Europeans, this support did not come forth, except on those rare occasions when a Viceroy like Ripon or Curzon took the wheel; and when education was transferred to Indian control, the co-operation from other important departments like Revenue (which continued to be reserved) became still less. Even such educational officers as India did possess would certainly have achieved better results, if only they had received greater attention from Government or more zealous co-operation from the Revenue and Finance Departments. But that was not to be.

(g) *Absence of a Plan :* Lastly, the failure of the British educational system must be ascribed to the absence of a plan or a consistent drive to reach a predetermined goal. The idea of a plan or a programme for administration is an essentially twentieth-century concept and one need not be surprised if the Indian educationists of the nineteenth century did not have one. But even till 1944, our educators did not evolve a plan because of the characteristic British attitude to life of "muddling through". When Curzon spoke of serving Indian education "in that strip of navigable water which lies between the mysterious past and still more mysterious future", he was speaking far more truly than he imagined. Most British officials lived and worked for the immediate present. They came to India for a short stay; and hence their whole object was to do something there and then—something which would yield quick results which *they*

[1] A. Mayhew : *The Education of India*, p. 9.

themselves could see. This objective made them unmindful of the past and the future alike and innumerable instances can be quoted where each successive official rode his own hobby horse as hard as he could, and cared neither to develop the sound policies of his predecessor nor to plan something for his successor to continue. In developing national education one should have a long-range plan. In India, the average life of an educational policy was 5 to 10 years—Policies came and went with successive Governors-General, Governors, or Directors of Public Instruction. This kaleidoscopic background made long-range planning impossible and had disastrous consequences on the progress of Indian education.

3. **Contributions of British Educational Administration.** The statement that the British educational administration failed to create a national system of education in India should not, however, be interpreted to mean that it achieved nothing worth while. In fact, it did several good things which India will always acknowledge. Some of these positive achievements of the British administration are the following :—

(*a*) The most important achievement of the British educational administration was to introduce India to English language and literature and through them, to all the thought, the scientific and industrial development, and the social and political philosophy of the West. This contact came at a very opportune time—when Indian culture and social organisation were at their lowest ebb. But it had a tremendous vivifying effect. It freed the Indian mind from the "thraldom of old-world ideas" and laid the foundation of a Renaissance in modern Indian life. This contact, its early excesses apart, has greatly enriched the mosaic of the Indian cultural pattern and has been a boon to India and the West alike.

(*b*) India owes the scientific and critical study of her ancient culture to European scholars whom British contact brought on the scene. There is a world of difference between the study of Sanskrit literature as it used to be carried on in an indigenous Pathshala and as it is conducted today in a university department of classical studies. The old method was of uncritical preservation; the new method is one of scientific and critical analysis, selection, simplification, balancing and enrichment. The lead in this new method came from Western scholars of

Oriental languages. They might have frequently blundered; but to them we must acknowledge our gratitude for the first discovery of a tool which we have since made our own and improved.

(*c*) While it is true to say that the British failed to develop the modern Indian languages by their insistence on the use of English as a medium of instruction, it is also paradoxically true that it was they who gave the first great impetus to their development in modern India. The officials and the missionaries studied the modern Indian languages, wrote their grammars, compiled dictionaries, and in many cases published the first books and papers in them. The languages of the aboriginals also were first studied by European workers and no words can convey adequately our debt of gratitude to Sir George Grierson for his *Linguistic Survey of India.* It is true that we soon took up the cue and had later on to fight with the British officials themselves who said "Thus far; and no further". But the fact remains that the first incentives to the study of modern Indian languages came from European scholars whom the British contact introduced into India.

(*d*) The same may be said about Indian Art. In the rediscovery of Indian painting, architecture or sculpture, the pioneer work was almost always done by European scholars who found our ancient treasures, not only for themselves, but for us as well; and we can never thank Curzon enough for the pioneer move to preserve our ancient monuments.

(*e*) Contact with the West is also responsible for the awakening of several humanistic trends in modern Indian life. The sympathy for the underdog, the crusade against untouchability, the emancipation of the modern Indian women (in so far as it has been accomplished), the spirit of social service that is now manifesting itself in almost every walk of life and most conspicuously in education—all these movements owe a deep debt of gratitude to Western influences that came in the wake of the British administration. The claim of British historians that these humanistic trends arose *exclusively* from Western contacts is too tall to be admitted, because they were considerably strengthened by the revivified study of ancient culture and the rising tide of patriotism. But their debt to Western contacts was certainly large and will be readily admitted.

(*f*) Finally, we owe to the British our acquaintance with (*i*) the modern democratic institutions of Europe, (*ii*) the Western systems of law and medicine which have rightly come to stay, and with (*iii*) the auxiliary tools of popular education such as the press, the cinema, the radio, the library, and the museum.

There is hardly any need to try to list every achievement of British Rule which had an educational significance. What has been said above is enough to indicate the rich and varied nature of its contribution to Indian educational life. Speaking of the British Rule in India at the Mansion House in 1904, Lord Curzon is reported to have said, "To me the message is carved in granite, it is hewn out of the rock of doom—that our work is righteous and that it shall endure." In the larger context in which Curzon made the statement, the claim is highly exaggerated. A good deal of what the British Rule did will have to be undone and is better forgotten on both sides. But in the restricted sense of the solid contributions such as those stated above, Curzon's remark is fully justified. These cultural contributions of the British people will remain with us for all time and will ultimately be absorbed in the dynamic and complex pattern that Indian culture has always been.

CHAPTER TWELVE

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS TO THE END OF THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN (1947-65)[1]

A new era in the history of education in India was ushered in with the attainment of Independence in 1947. The very scale and perspective of problems became different, although the planning and experience of the past provided some basis for immediate action. As the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, said in his inaugural address to the All-India Educational Conference called by the Education Minister in January 1948 : "Whenever conferences were called to form a plan for education in India, the tendency, as a rule, was to maintain the existing system with slight modifications. This must not happen now. Great changes have taken place in the country and the education system must also be in keeping with them. The entire basis of education must be revolutionised."

2. **Education in the Indian Constitution.** One of the first Acts of the independent country was to give a new Constitution to itself. This great document was finalised by the Constituent Assembly after months of intensive work and was adopted on January 26, 1949. A number of important provisions which have a direct or indirect bearing on education have been included in the Constitution and these have been briefly reviewed below.

The *preamble* to the Constitution states the objectives of national policy in the following words :—

> We, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens :
>
> JUSTICE, social, economic and political;
> LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship ;
> EQUALITY of status and opportunity; and to promote among them all
> FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation;
>
> IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.

[1]The authors acknowledge with gratitude the assistance received in the drafting of this chapter from Dr. S. Shukla of the Central Institute of Education, Delhi.

No educational system can decide the objectives of national policy. But once these are decided by the competent political authority, it is the responsibility of the schools to complete and consolidate the contemplated changes by laying proper foundations for them in the minds of men. The above goals of national policy have been prescribed by the Constitution to which every citizen owes his allegiance; and, in order to achieve them, the nation has also decided to adopt three major programmes : (1) democracy as a way of life ; (2) socialistic pattern of society; and (3) industrialisation based upon modern science and technology. It is now for the educational system of the country to orientate itself in such a way that these goals could be realised in the shortest time possible.

An important administrative issue dealt with in the Constitution refers to the *division of educational responsibility between the Government of India and the States*[1]. The Constitution makes Education a State subject (Entry 11 of List II, the list of State functions) except for (1) education in Union Territories and Centrally administered areas (which is a direct responsibility of the Government of India) and Entries 63, 64, 65 and 66 of List I (the list of Central functions) and Entry 25 of List III (the list of Concurrent functions of the Centre and the State). These Entries are reproduced below:

List I. List of Union Functions

63. The institutions known at the commencement of this Constitution as the Benaras Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University and the Delhi University, and any other institution declared by Parliament by law to be an institution of national importance.

64. Institutions for scientific or technical education financed by the Government of India wholly or in part and declared by Parliament by law to be institutions of national importance.

[1]These new units were created out of the 9 old Provinces of British India and the 500 and odd Princely States that were included in India after Partition. In 1949 when the Constitution was adopted, there were 9 Part A States and 18 Part B and Part C States and 1 Part D State, there being certain administrative and other differences in States governed by the different Parts of the Constitution. At present, there are 15 States (all of the same status), 6 Union territories and 3 Centrally administered areas.

65. Union agencies and institutions for—
   (a) professional, vocational or technical training, including the training of police officers; or
   (b) the promotion of special studies or research; or
   (c) scientific or technical assistance in the investigation or detection of crime.

66. Co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions.

List II. List of State Functions

11. Education including universities, subject to the provisions of entries 63, 64, 65 and 66 of List I and entry 25 of List III.

List III. List of Concurrent Functions

25. Vocational and technical training of labour.

Another important issue dealt with in the Constitution refers to the *official language of the Union.* The British Government had introduced English as the official language of the country in 1835. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Indians had pointed out that English can never be the official language of this country and had demanded that one of the modern Indian languages, preferably Hindi, which was being spoken by the vast majority of the people, should be adopted as the official language of the Union. Statutory recognition to this demand was first given by the Constitution (Part XVII). Article 343 declares that Hindi in Devnagri script (with the international form of Indian numerals) would be the official language of the Union. In order to make this transition gradual and acceptable to all shades of opinion, however, it was provided that English shall continue to be used, until 1965, for all official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before the commencement of the Constitution. Hindi is to be first used in addition to English and later on, it will replace English gradually in accordance with such programme as Parliament may decide.[1] The Constitution also provides for the appointment of a Language Commission at the expiration of five years from its commencement and thereafter at the expiration of ten years from such commencement. The report and recommendations of the

[1] The Conference of the Chief Ministers of States held in 1961 has recommended that English shall continue to be the Associate Official Language of the Union even after Hindi became the official language.

Official Language Commission were to be considered by a Committee of Parliament on the official language and the decisions about the use of Hindi as the official language were to be taken on the basis of the recommendations of the Official Language Commission and the Official Language Committee. The Constitution authorises the States to adopt Hindi or any other modern Indian language for their official purposes. Art. 351 further provides that "it shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression of all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating, without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in other languages of India".

The Constitution contains important provisions for *safeguarding the educational and cultural interests of minorities.* Art. 29 guarantees that "any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof, having a distinct language, script or culture of its own, shall have the right to conserve the same"; and it further declares that "no citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of the State funds, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them". Article 30 declares that "all minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice", and adds that "the State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language". Article 28 guarantees freedom of religion. It directs that "no religious instruction shall be provided in any educational institution wholly maintained out of State funds", and also provides that "no person attending any educational institution recognised by the State or receiving aid out of State funds, shall be required to take part in any religious instruction that may be imparted in such institution or to attend any religious worship that may be conducted in any such institution or in any premises attached thereto, unless the person or, if such person is a minor, his guardian has given his consent thereto". Article 350–A provides that every State and every local authority shall endeavour "to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the

mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups". Article 350–B provides for the appointment of a Special Officer for linguistic minorities who shall be responsible to the President and who shall investigate into all matters relating to the safeguards provided for linguistic minorities under the Constitution.[1] In addition to these general safeguards for *all* minorities, Article 337 gives a further guarantee to the important minority of Anglo-Indians who had enjoyed special privileges in the past. It provides that the grants-in-aid made by Government for the benefit of the Anglo-Indian community shall not be reduced for a period of three years after the commencement of the Constitution and that they would be reduced progressively thereafter until the special concessions ceased to exist at the end of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution.

The Constitution also provides adequate *safeguards for the advancement of weaker sections of the community* like the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Article 46, which is a directive principle of State policy, provides that "the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation". Although Article 15 of the Constitution rightly prohibits all discrimination against citizens on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, or any of them, an exception is made by clause (4) of the Article which provides that "nothing in this Article or in clause (2) of Article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provisions for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes". Article 338 provides for the appointment of a Special Officer for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who shall be responsible to the President and shall investigate into all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Article 339 provides for the appointment of a Commission on the administration of Scheduled Areas and the welfare of

[1] Articles 350-A and 350-B were added in 1956 at the time of the reorganisation of States.

the Scheduled Tribes, before the end of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution; and Article 340 further provides for the appointment of a commission to investigate into the conditions of the backward classes. In this context, it is relevant to state that Article 17 abolishes untouchability and forbids its practice in any form. It also provides that the enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.

Realising the importance of *universal primary education* for the proper development of democracy, Article 45 of the Constitution, which is also a directive principle of State policy, provides that "the State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years".

The Constitution has some other provisions which have an indirect bearing on the development of education. For example, it guarantees equality before law to all citizens (Article 14), prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth (Article 15), guarantees equality of opportunity in respect of public employment (Article 16), and prohibits employment of children under the age of 14 in factories, mines or other hazardous employment (Article 24).

3. Principal Educational Developments of the Post-Independence Period. The first four years of independence formed a period of great and unforeseen difficulties. The most important of these was the influx of millions of refugees from Pakistan and the immense and urgent task of their rehabilitation. Some of the other important problems which claimed priority were : the framing of the Constitution to replace the outdated Government of India Act, 1935 ; the reorganisation of administrative services which had been depleted by the sudden withdrawal of British officers ; and the liquidation of the princely States and the creation of new and more viable units of administration. Consequently, not enough attention could be given to the development of education between 1946-47 and 1950-51. On the basis of the Sargent Plan, however, the States adopted a few broad schemes of expansion and improvement; and at the

Centre, the main developments included the creation of a Ministry of Education and Scientific Research and the appointment of a University Education Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in 1948 and the publication of its report in the following year. In 1951-52, India adopted the policy of planned development and the First Five Year Plan (1951-55) provided for an expenditure of Rs. 169 crores for educational development. Its main achievements were: (1) a large expansion of primary education; (2) the appointment of a Secondary Education Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. Lakshmanswami Mudaliar in 1952 and the publication of its report in 1953; (3) the establishment of a University Grants Commission in 1953 and the passing of the University Grants Commission Act in 1956; and (4) the development of basic and social education. This was followed by the Second Five Year Plan (1956-60) which provided for an expenditure of Rs. 275 crores and whose principal achievements were: (1) the continuance and further expansion of the schemes taken up in the first Plan; (2) the reorganisation of secondary education and the establishment of the All-India Council of Secondary Education and the Directorate of Extension Programmes of Secondary Education; and (3) the large-scale development of technical education. This is now followed by the Third Five Year Plan (1961-65) which places a great emphasis on the development of primary and technical education and continues and further expands the schemes taken up in the first and second Plans. It provides for an expenditure of Rs. 418 crores under education and Rs. 142 crores under technical education. But even these fifteen years of planned development have revealed certain handicaps or difficulties under which educational development has to be attempted, viz., (1) the inadequacy of resources available to educational development on account of the competing claims of other sectors (education has received only about 7 p.c. of the total outlay on planned development so far); (2) the unexpected, large and continuous rise in population; and (3) the rise in prices which offsets several gains in educational progress. On the whole, therefore, it may be said that the total educational progress of the country has not been able to keep pace with the large hopes and aspirations that the attainment of independence had raised. For instance, the Constitution hoped that free and compulsory educa-

tion might be introduced by 1960, for all children up to the age of 14 years; but it has not been possible to reach this target. Similarly, the Kher Committee proposed, in 1950, that the programme suggested by the Sargent Plan to cover a period of 40 years (1945-84) should be implemented in 16 years only (1945-60). But this also was not possible.

In spite of these limitations and in spite of the large unfilled gap between 'aspirations' and 'achievements', it can be said that the period of twenty years between 1947 and 1966 promises to be one of unprecedented expansion in every sector of education; and this has been the greatest achievement of the post-independence period. But this very achievement has been responsible for the failure to take adequate steps to improve the quality of education—the main weakness of the programme; and considered along with the general failure to keep pace with national aspirations, it detracts a good deal of the glory of expansion. The progress of education in the post-independence period thus presents a mixed picture of light and shade, of gains and losses.

4. University Education. This peculiar combination of successes and failures can probably be best seen in the field of University education.

(*a*) *University Education Commission* (1948-49): One of the earliest decisions of the Government of India, in the post-independence period was to set up a University Education Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan (1948). The decision was due to the realisation that a reconstruction of university education was essential for a national cultural resurgence as well as for meeting the requirements of scientific, technical and other man-power required for the socio-economic development of the country. The Report of this Commission, which was submitted in 1949, is a document of great significance and has guided the development of university education in India in the post-independence period. Its main recommendations were the following:—

(1) The total duration of the school course should include the present Intermediate stage and should cover a period of 12 years in total. The University course should begin after the intermediate (and *not* after the matriculation) and should be spread over three years. This recommendation, it may be noted, was the same as that made by the Calcutta University Commission in 1917-19.

(2) The Commission laid great stress on the introduction of general education throughout school and college stages without unnecessary delay "so as to correct the extreme specialisation which is now common in the intermediate and degrees programmes". It also recommended the preparation of syllabi and reading material in the field and suggested "that the relations of special and general education be worked out for each field keeping in mind the general interests of the student as a personality and as citizen and his special occupational interests."

(3) The Commission emphasised the role of universities in the advancement of the frontiers of knowldge, viz., research, and especially pure or fundamental research, leaving the more applied fields to industry, administrative, or non-university scientific organisations. Not only was research considered an essential social function for the universities to perform, it was also a pre-requisite of really sound and inspiring teaching. The Commission pointed out that the existing organisation of post-graduate teaching and research left a good deal to be desired, both in quality and in quantity. It therefore, recommended a certain amount of uniformity in selection of students and, duration and quality of training for M.A., M.Sc., and research degree. Realising the fact that the needs of scientific manpower were very great and that our universities were inadequately developed, the Commission recommended the conservation and augmentation of the resources of universities in terms of scientist teachers by offering them adequate salaries and research facilities, creating more senior posts and providing increased capital and maintenance grants to laboratories. It also suggested some new fields of post-graduate study and research such as marine biology, fine arts, archaeology, social sciences and world affairs.

(4) The Commission gave detailed attention to the role of universities in professional education and covered, in detail, the field of agriculture, commerce, education, engineering and technology, law, medicine and certain new professional studies such as business administration, public administration and industrial relations. It suggested that, in all these fields, close contact should be maintained with practical work, a broad grounding should be provided in the basic sciences or arts subjects, new branches should be developed within each professional study bearing in mind the new needs of the country and the latest developments in other countries, and that teachers of high calibre and requisite practical experience should be obtained by means of suitable salary and other inducements.

(5) To equip Indian universities to meet these new responsibilities, the Commission felt that all universities be constituted as autonomous bodies responsive to enlightened public opinion. They also recommended that —

(*i*) university education be placed in the concurrent list ;

(*ii*) the Central Government should accept responsibility with regard to finance, co-ordination of facilities in special subjects, adoption of national policies, ensuring minimum standards of efficient administration and liaison between universities and national research laboratories, scientific surveys, etc.;

(*iii*) for allocating grants to universities, a Central Grants Commission should be established;

(*iv*) there should be no university of the purely affiliating type ; and

(*v*) government colleges should be gradually transformed into constituent colleges of universities.

(6) The Commission recommended that the salary scales of teachers should not be much inferior to those in Central and Provincial services in order not to oblige the competent academic type of person to choose these in preference to teaching. Three grades of teachers, viz., professors, readers and lecturers were recommended and it was suggested that a proportion of 1:2 was to be maintained as between senior and junior posts so as to provide adequate scope for promotion.

(7) The Commission also recommended a reform in the examination system so as to attach value to work of the students all through the year and suggested the introduction of objective tests. It stressed the importance of students' welfare, of scholarships and stipends to equalise opportunity, libraries and reading rooms, National Cadet Corps, physical education and social service in the universities and

the provision of adequate medical facilities. It also recognised the great role to be played by student unions in organising amenities and the need of providing a rich extra-mural life for students which would go a long way in developing character and qualities of leadership.

(8) The Commission discussed the question of religious education also. Realising that there was a distinct place for it even in a secular state, it recommended the introduction of a silent prayer at the beginning of the day and suggested the teaching of the lives of great religious leaders in the first year, some selections of a universalist character from the scriptures of the world in the second year, and the central problems of the philosophy of religion in the third year. While being opposed to denominational or partisan instruction, it still gave an important place to religion in education as part of the common heritage of humanity.

(9) On the subject of medium of instruction, the Commission accepted that, by whatever name called, the basis for the federal language would be provided by Western Hindi. While stressing that English will continue to occupy an important place in India's academic and intellectual life, it recommended that —

- (*i*) the federal language be developed through the assimilation of words from different sources and the retention of words which have already entered into Indian languages from different sources, thereby avoiding dangers of exclusiveness;
- (*ii*) international technical and scientific terminology be adopted, the borrowed words be properly assimilated, their pronunciation be adapted to the phonetic system of the Indian language and their spelling fixed in accordance with the sound symbols of Indian scripts;
- (*iii*) for the medium of instruction of higher education, English be replaced, as early as practicable, by an Indian language;
- (*iv*) pupils at higher secondary and university stages be made familiar with three languages—the regional language, the federal language and English (in order to acquire the ability to read books in English); and
- (*v*) English be studied in High Schools and in the Universities in order that we might keep ourselves in touch with the living stream of evergrowing knowledge.

(10) The Commission suggested that, in order to meet the need of rural reconstruction in industry, agriculture, and various walks of social life, rural universities surrounded by a ring of rural colleges doing undergraduate work should be set up.

In order to implement this programme, the Commission considered enlarged finances as absolutely essential. It stressed the obligation of the State in this respect and suggested modifications in income-tax laws to encourage private munificence to higher education.

(*b*) *Expansion of Higher Education:* There has been a phenomenal growth of higher education in India since 1947. On the eve of Independence, India had 19 universities. At the end of the second Plan, their number had increased to 46 and it has been estimated that it will rise to 61 by the end of the third Plan. In 1946-47, there were 297 Arts and Science Colleges, 199 Intermediate Colleges and 140 Colleges of professional and technical education. In 1961, there were 462 university departments, 228 constituent colleges, 1,316 affiliated colleges and 83 recognised research institutions. Besides, there were 15 Boards of

Secondary and/or Intermediate Education (as against 5 in 1946-47) which affiliated 988 intermediate colleges. There were also 581 institutions of higher education which were not affiliated to any university.

The increase of enrolment in institutions of higher education has also been unprecedented.

Even with this expansion, India cannot be described as an over-educated country and the number of graduates per thousand of population is still very small in India as compared to that in advanced countries like U.K., U.S.A., Japan or U.S.S.R. Still further expansion of higher education is, therefore, needed if India is to stand in line with the countries of the West. Considered from this point of view, this expansion is only to be welcomed.

It may be pointed out that the expansion in professional and technical education is also highly welcome. There has been a tremendous expansion in agricultural education, medical education and technical education as the following statistics will show :—

	1949-50		1960-61	
	Colleges	Enrolment	Colleges	Enrolment
Agriculture ..	15	3,082	36	10,704
Medicine ..	35	11,772	133	39,794
Engineering ..	23	9,411	66	37,469
Technology ..	5	1,541	12	1,959

Mention must particularly be made of the four regional technological institutes which have been set up at Kharagpur, Kanpur, Bombay and Madras, each of which will provide technological education to 1,500 graduate and 500 post-graduate students. In fact, it may even be said that this expansion in agricultural, medical and technical education is one of the finest achievements of the post-independence period.

But there are three aspects of the expansion of higher education since 1947, however, which are causing concern and anxiety. The first is the inordinate increase in arts and commerce colleges; the second is the establishment of several sub-standard new colleges because the rate of expansion is far too much in excess of the resources available; and the third is the admission to universities of a large number of unsuitable students who do not

have the right intellectual capacity, preparation and motivation. It is these weaknesses that lead to the accentuation of the main evils of our system of higher education, *viz.*, large percentage of failures in university examinations; maintenance of inadequate standards which are falling still lower ; and student indiscipline.

(*c*) *University Grants Commission:* In accordance with the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission, a University Grants Commission was set up, under executive orders, in 1953 ; and, on the passing of the University Grants Commission Act, a Statutory Body was set up in 1956 with Dr. C. D. Deshmukh as its first Chairman. It consists of nine members of whom not more than three are to be Vice-Chancellors of Universities, and not more than two, officers of the Central Government. The remaining members are to be nominated from amongst educationists of repute. The main responsibility of the Commission is to co-ordinate and maintain standards. To this end, it has been given the necessary statutory authority; and what is more important, the Central Government places funds at its disposal[1] and the Commission then allocates them to the universities for developmental programmes. The over-all funds placed at the disposal of the Commission are by no means large; and yet the Commission has been able to achieve commendable results even in the short period of its existence. It has assisted the development of post-graduate research and teaching, improved the salaries of teachers, provided better facilities for teaching, strengthened libraries and laboratories, examined several important problems of higher education such as student indiscipline, teaching of English or medium of instruction. Above all, it has created an appreciation of the significance of higher education in the country as a whole and succeeded in focussing attention on some of its urgent and important needs.

(*d*) *Research* : Another significant achievement of the post-independence period is the development of research and particularly of scientific and technological research to promote the socio-economic development of the country. The Scientific Policy Resolution of the Government of India issued in March,

[1]These stood at Rs. 24 crores in the second Plan and will be of the order of Rs. 37 crores in the third Plan.

1958 states the aims of national scientific policy in the following terms :—

(i) to foster, promote and sustain, by all appropriate means, the cultivation of science and scientific research in all its aspects—pure, applied and educational;

(ii) to ensure an adequate supply, within the country, of research scientists of the highest quality, and to recognise their work as an important component of the strength of the nation;

(iii) to encourage, and initiate, with all possible speed, programmes for the training of scientific and technical personnel, on a scale adequate to fulfil the country's needs in science and education, agriculture and industry, and defence;

(iv) to ensure that the creative talent of men and women is encouraged and finds full scope in scientific activity;

(v) to encourage individual initiative for the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge, and the discovery of new knowledge, in an atmosphere of academic freedom; and in general,

(vi) to ensure for the people of the country all the benefits that can accrue from the acquisition and application of scientific knowledge.

In accordance with this policy, an attempt is being made to develop research in all sectors. The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has now been considerably expanded and it conducts 23 national laboratories which are doing research in various fields. In addition, it also gives substantial grants-in-aid to universities for scientific and industrial research. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research, the Indian Council of Medical Research, the Department of Atomic Energy are other important organisations engaged in scientific and technological research and recently, a National Council of Educational Research and Training has been established to promote research in education. It has been estimated that the total investment in scientific and technological research would be about Rs. 72 crores in the second Plan and Rs. 130 crores in the third Plan.

(e) *Three-Year Degree Course*: Another important programme, which is now being implemented, is the introduction of the three-year degree course. With the exception of a few universities (which are also expected to fall in line in the near future), most of the universities in India have introduced the three-year degree course and the programme has been assisted by the University Grants Commission. It may be pointed out, however, that the original recommendation of the Radhakrishnan Commission was to super-impose the three-year degree course on a twelve-year school course. At present, the total duration of the school course is being reduced to eleven years in accordance with

the recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission (which would be referred to in the following section) and the three-year degree course is being super-imposed thereon. This considerably detracts from the merits of the proposal.

(*f*) *Rural Higher Education*: The Radhakrishnan Commission had proposed the establishment of Rural Universities. This suggestion was taken up for further examination by a committee appointed by the Government of India and presided over by Dr. K. L. Shrimali. This Committee rightly avoided the use of the term 'University' and recommended the establishment of *Rural Institutes* (some of which might grow into full-fledged universities at a later date). The object of these institutes was to provide facilities for higher education in rural areas and to develop an integrated programme of research, extension and training which would, on the one hand, lead to a development of the rural areas surrounding them and, on the other, assist in training the personnel which is required for the reconstruction of rural life in general. In accordance with the recommendations of the Shrimali Committee's report, 11 Rural Institutes have been established in different parts of the country during the first and the second Plans and every State will be provided with at least one Rural Institute during the third Plan. The experiment is recent; but even in the short span of its existence, it has shown a good promise of future growth. The Rural Institutes now admi tstudents who have completed the higher secondary course and provide a three-year course for a diploma in Rural Services, another three-year course for a diploma in Rural Engineering, a two-year course in Agriculture, and a one-year course for Sanitary Inspectors. They are developing extension activities to villages in the neighbourhood and an integrated programme of construction in the class-room and experience of practical work in the field. Recently, research activities have also been undertaken.

(*g*) *Other Matters*: In other respects, the advances made in the post-independence period have been either meagre or halting. Courses of general education, which were recommended by the Radhakrishnan Commission, have been introduced only in a few universities and have not as yet become either established or popular. Similarly, the idea of changing the medium of instruction at the university stage has also not made any impressive

progress. There is a strong section of opinion which would like to continue English as the medium of instruction at the university stage for a fairly long time. Others are of the opinion that the change-over should be gradual and should be dependent upon the evolution of a scientific terminology and the production of text-books and other essential reading material in the regional languages. The feeling for bringing about a more rapid change in the medium of instruction is, however, gaining strength, especially in political circles, although it has not yet made itself felt in the universities. The main problems that need attention in this context are: (1) preparation of a scientific terminology, text-books and other aids in the Indian languages; (2) the pacing of the change-over to Indian languages in such a way that standards will not be lowered; (3) emphasizing the study of English as a subject so that the students can freely draw upon books in English for the source material of their studies; (4) adopting suitable measures for exchange of university students and teachers, though to a limited extent; and (5) safeguarding the growth of national unity among the university students. This is, therefore, obviously a field to which the most intensive and careful efforts of the authorities concerned and teachers will have to be devoted in the immediate future. Similarly, the conditions under which students live and work in the universities have been improved in some ways by provision of assistance to needy students, institution of scholarships, provision of welfare facilities, construction of hostels, introduction of social service activities, large-scale expansion of the N.C.C., etc. But the good result of these measures is more than lost on account of the inordinate increase in numbers and the consequent overcrowding. Incidence of student indiscipline is, therefore, on the increase. The same may be said of examination reform. In spite of all that is said and written on this problem, the actual achievement in the field is very limited. It is, therefore, obvious that a better planned and more vigorous action is called for in the next ten or fifteen years, if university education in India is to be improved.

5. Secondary Education. Secondary education was the weakest stage in Indian education in the pre-independence period and it still continues to be so. The main achievement of

the post-independence period has been expansion and this has come about, not as a result of any planning, but by sheer force of circumstances. On the other hand, the attempts to reconstruct it and to improve its quality have neither been well-planned nor sufficiently large in scale to produce any tangible effect.

(*a*) *Expansion* : The following table will show the increase that has taken place in the number and enrolment of secondary schools during the last 14 years and also the further increase anticipated in the third Plan :—

Progress of Secondary Education

	1949-50	1960-61	1965-66 (Targets)
1. No. of Secondary Schools			
Boys ..	5,685	14,736	18,800
Girls ..	997	2,521	3,800
Total ..	6,682	17,257	22,600
2. Enrolment at the secondary stage in lakhs			
Boys ..	9·05	25·14	41·46
Girls ..	1·40	6·30	11·16
Total ..	10·45	31·44	52·62
3. Percentage of enrolment at the secondary stage to the total population in the age-group 14-17			
Boys ..	8·2	19·4	30·2
Girls ..	1·3	5·1	7·8
Total ..	4·8	12·4	17·9

It will be seen that the total number of secondary schools has increased from 6,682 in 1949-50 to 17,257 in 1960-61. It is expected to rise further to 22,600 by 1965-66. One good feature of this expansion is that a large increase has taken place in the secondary schools in rural areas or for girls. The former has risen from 2,764 in 1949-50 to 8,965 in 1960-61 and may increase to 13,000 in 1965-66; and the latter has increased from 997 in

1949-50 to 2,521 in 1960-61 and may increase to 3,800 in 1965-66. The increase in enrolment is even greater than that in the number of institutions. The total enrolment at the secondary stage has increased from 10·45 lakhs (or 4·8 per cent of the population in the age-group 14-17) in 1949-50 to 31·44 lakhs (or 12·4 per cent) in 1960-61. It is expected to rise still further to 52·6 lakhs (17·9 per cent) by 1965-66.

Judged from the standards of progressive countries of the West where secondary education is now being made compulsory and universal, it cannot be said that the enrolment of about 18 per cent of children in the age-group of 14-17 by 1966 is excessive. But it does create problems of over-crowding, fall in standards and unemployment because the level of economic development in the country is not in a position to keep pace with these advances in secondary education.

(*b*) *Secondary Education Commission*: One of the most significant recommendations of the University Education Commission was that the reorganisation of secondary education was a condition precedent to the proper development of university education. The Government of India, therefore, took up the problem of reorganisation of secondary education which had not been examined on a comprehensive and all-India basis since 1881-82. A Secondary Education Commission was appointed under the Chairmanship of Dr. A. L. Mudaliar in 1952 and it presented its report in 1953. This is one of the most important educational documents of the post-independence period and reorganisation of secondary education is now being attempted on the broad lines recommended by it.

The principal recommendations of the Commission may be summed up as follows :—

(1) *Higher Secondary Course* : The Commission recommended that the total duration of the school course should be reduced from 12 years to 11 and felt that the Indian youth, who would be about 17 years of age at the time of completing the school course, would be mature enough to enter the University. It also was of opinion that the Intermediate stage of education (which took about 12 or 13 years to complete in the pre-independence period) could be completed in a period of 11 years if the curricula were recast and better teaching methods were adopted. Its recommendations, therefore, crystallised in a pattern in which the total duration of the primary course was 7 or 8 years (which may be sub-divided into two stages of 4+3, or 5+2, or 5+3) and that of the secondary course was 4 or 3 years, making a total of 11 years of pre-university schooling. The Commission also proposed that the curricula of the higher secondary course should include :—

(i) Three languages—mother-tongue, the federal language (Hindi), and English. The children, whose mother-tongue was Hindi, were to study a modern Indian language other than Hindi;
(ii) Social Studies and General Science (including Mathematics);
(iii) One craft to be selected from a group of prescribed crafts; and
(iv) Three additional subjects selected from seven prescribed groups, *viz.*, Humanities, Science, Technical, Commercial, Agriculture, Fine Arts and Home Science.

(2) *Multipurpose Schools :* The main weakness of the system of secondary education as it had grown up during the British period was that it was too academic in character and that it mostly provided a 'single track' which led to the university through the matriculation examination. In order to eliminate this defect of long standing and with a view to diversifying the secondary curriculum to meet the aptitudes and capacities of students, the Commission recommended the establishment of Multipurpose schools which would provide terminal courses in technology, commerce, agriculture, fine arts, and home science. The object of these institutions was to divert students into different walks of life at the end of the secondary course and thus reduce the pressure upon university entrance.

(3) *Examination Reform :* The Commission recommended that the traditional system of examinations, which was restricted in scope, mechanical in techniques and unreliable in conclusions, should be replaced by modern methods of evaluation. The new method of evaluation should provide a realistic appraisal of the pupil's progress throughout his career and should be, not only a test of memory, but a measure of the student's educational growth.

(4) *Teachers:* The crux of the scheme of reorganisation recommended by the Commission was a better qualified and more competent secondary teacher. The Commission, therefore, recommended that the remuneration and other conditions of service of secondary school teachers should be improved with a view to attracting an abler person to the school. It was an important plan of the Commission that a large number of teachers teaching the higher secondary course should have post-graduate qualifications. It also recommended several significant changes in the system of training teachers.

(5) *Education and Vocational Guidance:* The Commission proposed that adequate steps should be taken to provide educational and vocational guidance to pupils—a reform which is implicit in the attempt to diversify secondary education.

(6) The other important recommendations of the Commission include (*a*) adoption of dynamic methods of teaching, (*b*) strengthening of libraries and laboratories, (*c*) introduction of audio-visual aids, and (*d*) the transfer of control of secondary school leaving examination from the universities to specially constituted Boards of Secondary Education.

It has not been possible to implement the recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission on a satisfactory scale. In the first place, its recommendation to reduce the total duration of the secondary course to eleven years has never been free from controversy. A section of educationists and some States have never reconciled themselves to the idea and they still plead for a twelve-year school course followed by a three-year degree course. Moreover, the conversion of secondary schools into the higher secondary has been rather slow, especially because of financial limitations. At the end of the Second Plan, only about 3000 schools (out of about 18,000) had been converted to the higher secondary pattern. In the Third Plan, this proportion is to be

raised to 50; but the result is rather doubtful, especially in view of the ideological conflicts. Similarly, the scheme of multipurpose schools also has made but meagre progress. Till the end of the Second Plan, only about 200 schools had been converted to the multipurpose pattern. The progress was slow, partly for want of funds and partly for want of suitable teachers. Moreover, even the few multipurpose schools that have been established are not functioning satisfactorily—they have not diverted the students into different walks of life nor reduced the pressure on university admissions. In the same way, the work of examination reform has only just begun and the traditional examination still continues to dominate the scene of secondary education. The emoluments, training and service conditions of secondary teachers have been improved to some extent; and that is probably the most significant reform of secondary education implemented in the post-independence period.

It is also true that some new ideas have been introduced in secondary education in this period. An All-India Council of Secondary Education was established in 1955 and is doing useful work in evolving a programme of improvement for secondary education. The control of secondary school leaving examination has been transferred to specially constituted Boards of Secondary Education in all but three States. Extension Services to Secondary Schools have been introduced in a number of training colleges and these have been of great help in vitalizing training college programmes as well as in improving secondary schools. The All-India Council of Secondary Education and the Directorate of Extension Programmes for Secondary Education have done useful service in programmes of in-service education for secondary teachers. Some steps have been taken to improve the teaching of science and English and the Central Institute of English at Hyderabad is doing valuable pioneer work in this field. Similarly, vocational guidance bureaux have been established at the Centre and in most of the States. But all these programmes are in their infancy and they have not yet made themselves felt in improving the great mass of secondary schools.

6. Primary Education. In primary education also there has been unprecedented expansion and some qualitative improve-

ment. But it has not been possible to achieve either of the two goals which the country has set before itself: (1) the introduction of free and compulsory education for all children up to 14 years, and (2) the conversion of all primary schools to the basic pattern.

Expansion : The following table shows the expansion of primary education that has been achieved in the post-independence period so far as well as the proposed expansion in the third Plan :—

Progress of Primary Education

Year	Total enrolment in classes I–V (in lakhs)	Percentage of enrolment in classes I–V to total population in the age-group 6-11	Total enrolment in classes VI–VIII (in lakhs)	Percentage of enrolment in classes VI–VIII to total population in the age-group 11-14
1946-47				
Boys ..	106·3	53·1	17·2	15·4
Girls ..	34·8	17·4	3·2	2·9
Total ..	141·1	35·0	20·4	9·0
1950-51				
Boys ..	137·7	59·8	25·9	20·7
Girls ..	53·8	24·6	5·3	4·5
Total ..	191·5	42·6	31·2	12·7
1955-56				
Boys ..	175·3	70·3	34·2	25·5
Girls ..	76·4	32·4	8·7	6·9
Total ..	251·7	51·9	42·9	16·5
1960-61				
Boys ..	235·9	80·8	50·8	33·9
Girls ..	114·0	40·4	16·3	10·8
Total ..	349·9	61·1	67·1	22·8
1965-66 (Plan target revised)				
Boys ..	321·0	97·1	80·2	46·1
Girls ..	198·7	63·3	30·1	18·2
Total ..	519·7	80·2	110·3	32·3

It will be seen that the expansion achieved in the post-independence period is so large that it has no precedent, either in the past history of primary education in India nor in the contemporary educational history of other developing countries. Between 1946-47 and 1950-51, about 50 lakhs of additional children were enrolled in classes I-V; this number increased to 60 lakhs in the first Plan and 82 lakhs in the second Plan; and in the third Plan, the additional enrolment in classes I-V will be about 170 lakhs (which would be even greater than the enrolment in the first and second Plans put together). This implies that the proportion of the enrolment in classes I-V to the total population in the age-group 6-11 would rise from 35 in 1946-47 to 80 in 1965-66 which is indeed a very creditable achievement. In classes VI-VIII, the gains have been proportionately even greater. In 1946-47, the total enrolment in these classes was 20·4 lakhs. It increased to 31·2 lakhs in 1950-51; to 42·9 lakhs at the end of the first Plan; to 67·1 lakhs at the end of the second Plan; and at the end of the third Plan, it is expected to rise to 110·3 lakhs. In 20 years, therefore, there will have been an increase of about 450 per cent in the enrolment at the middle school-stage and the percentage of enrolment in classes VI-VIII to the total population in the age-group of 11-14 will have increased from 9·0 in 1946-47 to 32·3 in 1965-66.

Good as these results are in their comparison with the past, they do not appear to be equally good when compared to the progress achieved at the other stages of education or with the targets which the country had placed before itself. For instance, it will be seen from the comparison of the statistics given in this and the two preceding sections that the progress in primary and middle school education in the post-independence period is comparatively much smaller than that in secondary or higher education. Between 1946-47 and 1965-66, for instance, the enrolment at the university stage will have increased from 2·56 lakhs to 16·80 lakhs (an increase of about 5·5 times); that at the secondary stage from about 8·3 lakhs to 52·6 lakhs (an increase of about 5·0 times); that at the middle stage from about 20 lakhs to about 110 lakhs (an increase of about 4·5 times); and that at the primary stage will have increased from 141 lakhs to 519 lakhs only (an increase of about 2·7 times). In the pre-independence period, a common criticism of the educational system used to be that it

resembled an inverted pyramid and that the expenditure on higher and secondary education was far out of proportion to the expenditure on primary education. This criticism is even more applicable today and in 1960-61, the country spent proportionately much less on primary and middle school education than it did in 1946-47. This imbalance may be corrected to some extent in the third Plan; but it has to be admitted that these considerations detract a good deal from the otherwise splendid record of expansion achieved since 1946-47.

The comparison of this progress with what the country set out to do is even more disappointing. The Sargent Plan had proposed to reach the goal of universal education in the age-group of 6-14 in a period of 40 years, i.e., between 1945 and 1985. As stated in the preceding chapter, this proposal was not welcomed in nationalist quarters and there was a great demand that the period proposed for the implementation of the programme should be reduced. The Kher Committee, which was appointed by the Government of India to examine this issue, suggested that the programme might be completed in a period of sixteen years. The Constitution was even more ambitious and directed that the State shall endeavour to provide free and compulsory education for all children up to 14 years of age within ten years from the date on which the Constitution comes into force, i.e. by 1960. However, it has not been possible to keep any of these Schedules. In 1957, the Educational Panel of the Planning Commission suggested a far humbler target: the introduction of universal education for the age-group 6-11 by 1965-66 and the introduction of compulsory education in the age-group of 6-14 by 1975-76. It has not been possible to implement even this programme and it now appears that, if we can introduce universal education in the age-group of 6-14 by 1985, it would be a good achievement indeed !

The main reasons for this slow progress of primary and middle school education are the following :—

(1) The total resources available for educational development in the post-independence period have been comparatively meagre. In all the three Plans, social services have received about 17 per cent of the total outlay on development, and education, which is the most important of social services, has re-

ceived about 7 per cent of the total outlay. Education thus could not be accorded a very high priority in developmental programmes. This is due, less to a lack of appreciation of the importance of education, but more to the inevitability of other competing demands.

(2) Even within the field of education itself, university, secondary and technical education have claimed a larger share of the resources available with the result that the expenditure on primary education has proportionately gone down.

(3) There has been an inordinate rise in population in the post-independence period. In 1946-47, the population of India was estimated at 30 crores. It increased to 36 crores in 1951 and to 44 crores in 1961. This inordinate increase of population, which is mainly due to an uncontrolled birth-rate coupled with a greatly diminished death-rate, has nullified a good deal of the expansion achieved.

(4) The progress of the universal primary education goes on side by side with social and economic development of the country. Progress in this latter sector has been slow and consequently the progress of universal primary education also is bound to be adversely affected.

The targets which the country set before itself in providing universal compulsory and free primary education for all children up to 14 years were, it must be admitted, a little unrealistic. The history of development of primary education in other countries of the world shows that this progress is achieved in three stages spread over a fairly long period. The first stage aims at recognising the need to provide universal and compulsory education; in the second stage, an attempt is made to expand facilities for primary education and to enrol every child in school; and in the third, an attempt is made to retain every child in school for the entire duration of the primary course. These stages are by no means mutually exclusive and the second or third stages generally start even before the first or second stages are over. It may also be pointed out that the first of these stages is probably the easiest and the third, most difficult.

It may be said that the first stage began in India by about 1880 when people began to talk of compulsory primary education and ended in 1950 when the principle was incorporated in

the Constitution. The second stage may be said to have begun in 1900 when facilities for primary education began to be expanded very rapidly and is not yet over. Throughout the last sixty years, facilities for primary education have been rapidly expanded and more and more children are being enrolled in schools. By the end of the third Plan, about 97 per cent of the boys and about 63 per cent of the girls in the age-group of 6-11 would have been enrolled in schools and this enrolment would reach almost a hundred per cent during the next ten years. But the third stage, which is the most difficult of all, has yet to be started in right earnest. Owing to poverty of parents and several other reasons, children who are enrolled in schools do not stay there long enough to complete the primary course and leave the school prematurely. This phenomenon is called 'wastage' and is very high in India at present. Out of every 100 children that enter Class I, only 35 reach Class V and 65 are prematurely withdrawn. No intensive efforts to reduce this wastage have so far been made. But even in the third Plan itself, a programme to reduce wastage (and to see that more and more children remain at school long enough to complete at least the five-year course of primary education) will have to be undertaken. These attempts will have to be continued, probably for a further period of 20 years, before all children are enabled to stay in school for a period of eight years to complete both primary and middle school education. Success in this endeavour is only possible in proportion to the general rise in the standard of living and a period of 20 years is not really too long for the purpose. However, it may be possible, if very determined efforts are made, to reach this goal by 1976.

The principal developments in the field of primary and middle school education in the post-independence period may be briefly summed up as follows :—

(*a*) *Educational Survey:* The country has now definitely accepted the target of providing a primary school within easy walking distance from the home of every child and also a middle school within about three miles from the home of every child. From this point of view, an educational survey of the country was recently carried out. The survey showed that the educational needs of the country in this sector would be met

if about 100,000 primary schools and 16,000 additional middle schools are opened. Plans to establish these schools have been made, and by the end of the third Plan, it is hoped to realise the target of universal provision of primary and middle schools.

(*b*) *School-Community Relations:* The schools are now much closer to their communities. The local community is now coming increasingly forward to provide buildings, playgrounds and land for school farms. In several areas, it is making contributions for equipment of school and for provision of amenities like mid-day meals or school uniforms. This awakening of the community interest in primary education has been a very significant gain of recent years.

(*c*) *Decentralisation of Administration:* In order to stimulate the local community interest in primary education still further, most of the States have now decided to decentralise the administration of primary education and to entrust it to local bodies constituted at the District level, or preferably at the Block level (a Block is a compact area of about 100 villages with a population of about 60,000). Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh have taken the lead in this matter and other States are following suit.

(*d*) *Remuneration and Training of Primary Teachers:* The remuneration of primary teachers has been considerably improved. In 1946-47, the average salary of a primary teacher was about Rs. 380 a year. It is now about Rs. 800 a year. A similar increase has taken place in the salaries of middle-school teachers also. The training facilities for primary and middle school teachers have been considerably expanded. The total accommodation in training schools in the country was about 39,000 seats in 1946-47. It has now increased to about 160,000 seats.

(*e*) *Textbooks:* There has also been a good deal of improvement in the quality of textbooks for primary and middle schools. A large number of States are now bringing out their own textbooks for primary schools and these are made available to parents at the cheapest cost possible. Some provision for giving free supply of textbooks to poor and needy children is also made in most areas.

(*f*) *Curriculum:* Most of the States have revised their curricula of primary schools in recent years. An integrated

syllabus for primary and basic schools has been prepared by several State Governments and is now being introduced uniformly in all primary and middle schools.

(*g*) *Legislation for Compulsory Education* : The laws relating to compulsory education are also being modernised and the enforcement of compulsory attendance is being streamlined and made more effective.

(*h*) *Education of Girls* : Special efforts are being made to enrol an increasing number of girls and to appoint women teachers. The prejudice against co-education which existed in rural areas, is also being continuously broken down through educative propaganda.

7. Basic Education. Although the idea of basic education was placed before the country by Mahatma Gandhi in 1937, it could not gather strength before 1947. The Congress Ministries which had supported it went out of office in 1939 and the caretaker Governments who were in power till 1945 did nothing more than maintain the status quo and in some States even this was not done. The Scheme was taken up in earnest only in 1946 when the popular Ministries came back to power.

Between 1946 and 1951, the Government of India had no programme to assist basic education and the States developed the experiment on their own. The general pattern adopted was to establish a few basic schools, as an experimental measure, and to convert a few training schools to the basic pattern in order to provide the teachers required for basic schools. The size of the experiment also varied from State to State. In some States like Bihar it was tried on a fairly large scale ; in others, the number of basic schools was too small to make any worthwhile impact. In the beginning of the first Plan, however, it was declared that basic education had gone beyond the stage of experiment and that it was in future to be adopted as the national pattern of education at the primary stage. During the first and second Plans, the Centre had been giving financial assistance for a variety of programmes, such as the opening of new junior basic schools, upgrading of junior basic schools to senior basic standard, conversion of non-basic schools into basic

ones, introduction of crafts in elementary schools, establishment of new basic teacher-training institutions or the conversion of the existing institutions to the basic pattern, improvement of basic training institutions (including the provision of hostels and equipment) and organising seminars and refresher courses for teachers and headmasters of elementary schools.

At the end of the first Five Year Plan, it was felt desirable to review comprehensively the progress of basic education in the country and an Assessment Committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of Shri G. Ramachandran. The Committee came to the conclusion that a number of factors hindered the progress of basic education. These included: (1) confusion regarding the concept of basic education and lack of acceptance of the sound principles of basic education on the part of the high authorities in the field of education and in public life ; (2) the absence of a well-formulated programme of completing the change-over to basic education; (3) deficiencies in the programme of training of teachers and other personnel for basic education; (4) the absence of an adequate administrative set-up to implement the programme; and (5) the absence of scientific investigations in problems of basic education, proper liaison with other social agencies and even the minimum essential literature needed for teachers. The Committee was of opinion that 'the compact area method' which meant development of an intensive programme of basic education in small selected areas and which had largely been adopted in the country prior to 1956 had outlived its utility. "The compact area method", said the Committee, "has tended merely to create small patches of basic schools here and there without these patches multiplying or spreading quickly or extensively enough. The creation of such patches has led to their remaining in that condition for too long without affecting the overwhelmingly vast surroundings of elementary education which is non-basic. Also this has resulted in some special conditions being created which make basic education look artificial." The Committee, therefore, suggested that "the whole of elementary education should be plunged into a programme of conversion step by step and be completed within a stipulated period". For this purpose, the Committee recommended the adoption of the scheme of orienting non-basic schools towards the basic pattern. Under this programme, the gap between the basic and

the non-basic schools was to be quickly bridged by the introduction of as many activities of the basic schools as possible into the non-basic schools. The recommendations of the Committee have been accepted and are being implemented. For this purpose, the National Institute of Basic Education was established in 1956. The programme of orienting primary schools to the basic pattern was implemented, in several areas, even during the second Plan itself and it is proposed to implement it throughout the country during the third Five Year Plan.

Basic Education is a growing and dynamic concept and it has been amended to a considerable extent since it was first put forward in 1937. The fundamental idea that basic education is for life and through life, that it endeavours to create a social order free from exploitation and violence, and that it must be built round, to the extent possible, a productive, creative and socially useful craft is still the core of the project. However, the idea of self-sufficiency has been considerably modified and it is now felt that the produce of the craft practised should cover the cost of raw materials and that it might even contribute something towards such amenities as provision of mid-day meals or school uniforms; the idea of correlation is no longer based on craft alone and three different centres have been accepted for the purpose, *viz.*, craft, physical environment and social environment; the study of English is no longer held to be incompatible with basic education; and the erroneous concept that basic education was primarily meant for rural areas has also been discarded. There is no doubt that the concept will continue to be modified still further according to the requirements of the situation.

8. Professional and Technical Education. In the British period, professional and technical education was generally neglected, mainly because the British Government had no large-scale programme of developing the economy of the country or of reducing its poverty. In the post-independence period, however, the nation decided to eliminate poverty by adopting modern science and technology and developing a programme of rapid industrialisation. With this change in the national objective, technical education came to be very largely emphasised. Similarly, the nation decided to develop the agricultural output of the country and to make it self-sufficient

in matters of food. This led to a great development of agricultural education. In the same way, the nation decided to improve standards of health and nutrition, which implied a large-scale expansion of medical and health services and consequently an equally large expansion of medical education. Similar considerations apply to a number of other professions as well and on the whole it may be said that professional and technical education has developed immensely in the post-independence period.

The table on page 401 shows the growth of professional and technical education between 1949-50—the first year for which all-India statistics are available—and 1960-61, the latest year for which the data has been published.

It may not be out of place to give here a few details of technical education which has received the highest emphasis in the post-independence period. The All-India Council for Technical Education was established in 1946 with representatives of Government, industry, commerce and technical institutions. It has set up four regional committees to look after the special requirements and integrated development of technical education in relation to regional needs. Four institutes of technology have also been set up, on the lines of the Massachusett Institute of Technology, at Kharagpur, Kanpur, Bombay and Madras and each of them will ultimately provide training facilities for about 2,000 students—1,500 at the graduate level and 500 at the post-graduate level. The Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, has been very largely expanded and now provides training facilities at post-graduate level for about 400 students in a large variety of courses. In 1947, there were only 38 institutions for degree courses in engineering and technology (with admission capacity of 2,670 students) and only 53 institutions for diploma courses (with admission capacity of 2,670 students). In 1960-61, the number of institutions offering degree courses increased to 100 and their admission capacity to 13,860 while the number of institutions offering diploma courses increased to 196 and their admission capacity to 25,570. By the end of the third Plan, the number of institutions offering degree courses will rise to 170 (with an admission capacity of 19,140) and that of institutions offering diploma courses will rise to 263 (with an admission capacity of 37,390).

9. Women's Education. It was pointed out earlier that the development of the education of women has been one of the most outstanding achievements of the system of modern education that was built up during the British period. Even in 1947, however, not much progress had been made, especially in comparison with the advanced countries of the world. The number of girls enrolled in schools for every 100 boys was only 31 and the percentage of literacy amongst women was extremely low. In the post-independence period, the education of women received a still further impetus and a good deal of progress was made. The table on page 402 compares the enrolment of girls in 1949-50 with that in 1960-61 and gives some idea of the rapid rate at which the education of girls is expanding at present :—

In 1958, the Government of India appointed a National Committee for Women's Education under the Chairmanship of Sm. Durgabai Deshmukh. The Committee was requested to go into the difficulties that hindered the progress of girls' education and to make recommendations to Government regarding the manner in which the education of girls could be brought on a par with that of boys, especially at the primary and secondary stages. The Committee examined the problem comprehensively and its report is a standard document of reference on the subject. Its main recommendations were the following :—

(1) The education of women should be regarded as a special problem for some years to come and special funds should be provided for its development in the five year plans of the country.

(2) There should be a National Council for the Education of Women at the Centre and State Councils for the Education of Women should be established in all States and Union Territories. The main object of these Councils will be to educate public opinion, to bring officials and non-officials engaged in the work together on a common platform for the development of girls' education and to advise the Government of India and the State Governments on the measures to be adopted for securing a rapid advance in the education of girls.

(3) There should be a special unit in the Government of India to look after the programmes of girls' education, and in each State Department of Education, a special officer should be appointed at the Directorate level and placed in charge of programmes relating to the education of girls. The existing Inspectorate for Girls' Schools should also be considerably strengthened.

(4) It is necessary to develop a large number of special programmes for bringing about a rapid expansion in the education of girls. The most important of these are the preparation and employment of women teachers and provision for special amenities for girls, such as grant of free books and writing materials, scholarships and clothing or provision for mid-day meals.

These major recommendations of the Committee have been accepted by the Government. A National Council for the Education of Women was set up in 1959 under the Chairmanship of Sm. Durgabai Deshmukh. Most of the State Governments and Union Territories have also established State Councils. A special unit for women's education has been created in the Ministry of Education. Most of the State Governments have created the posts of an Assistant or Deputy Director of Education in charge of girls' education and strengthened the Inspectorate for Girls' Schools. Special programmes for the development of girls' education have been drawn up and a sum of about Rs. 11 crores has been allocated to them in the State sector of the third Five Year Plan.

The Central Social Welfare Board has adopted a very interesting scheme of condensed courses for adult women. Under this plan, adult women between the ages of 18 and 35 who had abandoned their education in early life for some reason or the other and who now desire to continue it and qualify themselves as teachers, nurses, midwives, etc., are given intensive training of two or three years and are prepared for the middle school or the secondary school leaving certificate examinations. The courses have been very popular and successful and they are expected to provide the necessary women personnel for development of education and other social services needed by the country.

10. Social Education. The problem of adult illiteracy in India is stupendous. The percentage of literacy in 1941 was only about 12 and although some attention had been paid to the problem after 1937, the scale on which adult education classes were organised was too small to make any impact on the extent of mass illiteracy. Very naturally, the problem received a good deal of attention in the post-independence period.

Countries faced with a problem of this type generally attempt to solve it (1) by introducing compulsory primary education; (2) by organising mass campaigns for the liquidation of adult literacy; and (3) by adopting both these methods simultaneously. In India, the original idea was to introduce compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14 by 1960.

It was, therefore natural to emphasise the first of these methods. It is true that mass literacy campaigns were organised in some areas in the beginning. But the attempt was not pursued in all parts of the country on any large scale and the general policy has been, not to evolve a mass programme with the object of goading every adult to be literate within a specified period, but to provide the means of education to such adults as may desire to become literate or to study further. Adult literacy centres or classes are, therefore, organised wherever the conditions are favourable and wherever a few adults become education-conscious. On an average, about 50,000 adult classes are run every year; they enrol about 12 lakhs of adults of whom 4 or 5 lakhs are made literate; and the average annual expenditure on the programme is about Rs. 80 lakhs. Under these conditions, it is no matter for surprise if the progress of adult literacy in India has been slow. The census of 1951 returned a literacy percentage of 16·67 (24·9 for men and 7·9 for women). This has risen only to 23·7 (39·9 for men and 12·0 for women) in 1961, and the number of adult literates is now estimated to be about 20 crores.

The main development of the post-independence period in the field of adult education, therefore, is not to be sought in the spread of literacy, but in the new concept of 'social education' that has been evolved to replace the earlier idea of adult literacy or even adult education. Social education, as now defined, necessarily includes literacy. But as its emphasis is on the socialisation of the adult and on his preparation for the new society in which he has to live, it has been designated as 'social education'. The programme of social education, as now accepted, includes literacy, education in citizenship and health, understanding of science as applied to everyday life, acquisition of information and skills that would improve vocational efficiency, cultivation of hobbies, and training of the adults for participation in cultural and recreational programmes.

This new programme of social education is now being developed, not within the four walls of a school, as the old programmes of adult literacy or adult education used to be, but against the background of the wider and richer programme of community development which has been adopted since 1952. The object of the community development programme is to

make the community strive to improve its environment in all aspects and to secure an all-round development of rural life. For this purpose, the entire countryside is divided into a number of Community Development Blocks, each block consisting of about 100 villages or about 60,000 population. It is provided with an administrative set-up of a Block Development Officer and seven other functionaries who are all trained as Extension Officers and whose responsibility it is to execute a comprehensive development programme with the co-operation of the community. In this team, there are two functionaries whose main job is the programme of social education—the Social Education Organiser, who looks after the programmes amongst men and the Mukhya Sevika who looks after the social education and social welfare programmes for women and children. To supervise their work and to give them technical guidance, posts of District Social Education Organisers have been created in some areas. In addition, there is often an Officer at the State level to guide and supervise the work in the State as a whole.

The entire programme of community development which aims to make the community self-reliant and progressive is essentially a programme of social education in the new and wider sense which has been given to it. Every officer of the block development team is engaged in the task of social education. The programme has made a considerable impact on rural life, especially in changing the attitudes of the village people and in persuading them to adopt new techniques of production or better ways of living.

11. Democratisation of Education and Equality of Educational Opportunity. Since the country has adopted democracy as a way of life and since it has decided to create a social order based on equality of opportunity, it is necessary to democratise education and to provide equality of educational opportunity for all. A number of measures are being taken, in the post-independence period, to achieve these objectives. Reference has already been made to the attempts to provide universal, free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14. Reference has also been made to the programmes for the development of the education of girls and bringing it on par with that of boys. In addition to these two major pro-

grammes, the Government of India and the State Governments have adopted two other major programmes which tend to equalise educational opportunity and democratise education. They are: (1) provision of free education and scholarships; and (2) special educational assistance for the development of education among the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes.

(*a*) *Free Studentships and Scholarships:* Primary education is now free in all parts of the country, except in a few private primary schools which charge fees. But the provision of free primary schools is made on a sufficiently large scale and no parent is compelled to send his children to attend fee-charging private schools. At the middle school stage also, education has been made very largely free. At the secondary stage, there is an increasing trend to make education free for all children or for girls or for the children of those parents whose income is below a prescribed level. In Jammu and Kashmir, education at *all* stages is free for *all* children, and similar concessions are available in the Union Territories of A and N Islands and L.M. and A Islands. In Maharashtra and Gujerat, education is free at all stages to children whose parents have an annual income of less than Rs. 1200. In Madhya Pradesh, education is free to all children in the age-group of 6-14. The present indications are that education upto the age of 14 would be free to all children in the near future. Even in the higher age-ranges, the concessions or free studentships now available are likely to be substantially increased in the near future and a determined effort is now being made to provide free education to children of all parents whose annual income is below a prescribed level.

The provision of scholarships was very meagre in the pre-independence period. In 1946-47, the total expenditure on scholarships was about Rs. 2·2 million or 0·4 per cent of the total educational expenditure. In the post-independence period, however, a large-scale programme of provision of scholarships has been taken up by the Government of India as well as by the State Governments. Consequently, the expenditure on scholarships has increased to about Rs. 201 million or 5·8 per cent of the total educational expenditure in 1960-61. What is more important, this expenditure is tending towards a very rapid increase in the immediate future.

In this connection, mention may be made of some important schemes of scholarships which have been adopted in the post-independence period. The Government of India awards about 70 scholarships every year to talented children in order to enable them to receive education in residential schools. It has also introduced a scheme of National Scholarships at the post-matriculation stage. These aim at helping the talented students to receive higher education and are awarded to students, selected on the basis of merit, from all parts of the country. The Government of India has also introduced scholarships for research in humanities and sciences and for higher education in cultural subjects. Besides, there is a scheme under which scholarships are awarded to the talented children of primary and secondary school teachers as well as the children of political sufferers. In collaboration with other countries, a large programme of international scholarships has been developed under which Indian students go abroad for higher studies, particularly to U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and West Germany, and foreign students come to India for higher studies, particularly from Africa.

(b) *Education of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes :* Under the lead given by Mahatma Gandhi, a programme for the social, educational and economic improvement of the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes had been taken up as early as in 1937 when the popular Ministries came to power in the Provinces of British India. After the attainment of Independence, these programmes were intensified, and in pursuance of the relevant provisions of the Constitution, a large-scale programme for the same purpose was also developed at the Centre. At present, there are special Departments for the welfare of the backward classes set up in every State and they, either by themselves or in co-operation with other departments, look after the programmes of their social, economic and educational betterment. In so far as educational facilities are concerned, the children of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes get their education free at all stages. The State Governments also conduct or aid hostels for the children of these communities studying at the primary and secondary stages. Grants-in-aid for such miscellaneous expenditure as purchase of books, payment of examination fees, etc., are

also given. At the post-matriculation stage, the Government of India has instituted a very large system of scholarships. At present, almost every student of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes reading at the collegiate stage does get a scholarship. In 1947-48, the number of scholarships awarded was only 655 at a total cost of Rs. 539 thousand. At present, nearly 62 thousand scholarships are given at a cost of about Rs. 26 million. There are also some special scholarships to enable the students from backward classes to go abroad for higher studies. Originally, the idea was that all the special concessions to the backward classes would be continued for a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution. In view of the fact that they have still a very large leeway to make, these concessions have been extended for a further period of ten years.

12. Other Programmes. A brief mention may be made here of the other programmes which have devoloped at the Centre and in the States in the post-independence period.

The Government of India has been able to evolve a good programme for the development of Hindi. The most important task undertaken has been the formulation of a technical terminology which would be adopted in Hindi and all the other Indian languages. A Central Board of Technical Terminology was constituted for this purpose in 1950 and recently it has been replaced by a Standing Commission on Scientific and Technical Terminology, under the Chairmanship of Shri D. S. Kothari. About 290 thousand technical terms have already been coined out of an estimated total of 350 thousand technical terms required for graduate and post-graduate studies in the different branches of knowledge. Schemes have also been initiated to train the employees of the Government of India and the State Governments in Hindi. Grants are being given for the popularisation and spread of Hindi in the non-Hindi speaking areas. A programme for the publication of standard works has also been drawn up and is being implemented.

In the field of physical education and allied activities, considerable advance has been made. A National College of Physical Education, called the Rani Laxmibai College of Physical Education, has been established at Gwalior. It provides a three-year course in physical education and will shortly provide research

facilities at the post-graduate level as well. For the development of sports, a National Institute of Sports has been established at Patiala with the object of preparing first-rate coaches for the development of games and sports in the country. A number of coaching schemes are also being implemented with the help of expert coaches invited from abroad. A National Discipline Scheme has been introduced with the object of promoting discipline and building up character in school students. It is at present being implemented by more than 1500 institutions in the country. Steps have also been taken to develop a programme of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. Several schemes of youth welfare have also been drawn up and are being implemented.

Considerable advance has been made in the development of a programme for the education and welfare of the handicapped. The number of institutions for this weaker section of the community has been very largely increased. A National Centre for the Blind has been developed at Dehra Dun. A new system of Indian Braille, which is common for all the Indian languages, has been developed and a Central Braille Printing Press has brought out a large number of titles in this script. New and indigenous hearing aids for the deaf are being developed and a programme for finding employment to the trained handicapped is being worked out.

Child welfare in a comprehensive form is also being taken up. Pre-primary education has expanded very considerably in urban areas. In the rural areas, the Central Social Welfare Board and the Community Development Programme have set up a large number of Balwadis which combine a programme of child welfare with pre-school education. In the third Plan, a sum of Rs. 30 million has been provided for the development of intensive and integrated projects of child welfare in selected areas. In the light of experience gained, it is proposed to generalise the programme in subsequent years.

13. Administration, Planning and Finance. As a result of the large-scale expansion of educational activities in the post-independence period, which has been described in the preceding paragraphs, it has been found necessary to expand largely the Ministry of Education at the Centre as well as the Education Departments in the States. Prior to 1947, the Education Department at the Centre was a very small unit. It grew up into

a large Ministry of Education and Scientific Research. In 1958, this was split up into two independent Ministries—the Ministry of Education (which also deals with social welfare) and the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. Recently, these two Ministries have again been combined (1963). In the States, the Education Departments have been strengthened very considerably. There is, however, reason to feel that the overall increase in the administrative set-up is not proportionate to the increase in educational programmes and that some further strengthening and improvement is still needed.

Prior to 1947, data about educational developments in all parts of the country was not available in one place. The British Indian Provinces published their own reports on education and all-India reports were also compiled for them. The British Indian Provinces, however, represented only two-thirds of the country and the remaining one-third was divided into about seven hundred and odd Princely States. The larger Princely States published their own reports on education. But such States were very few and for the large majority of these Princely States, no educational data was available. One of the major achievements of the post-independence period is the division of the country into a few viable administrative units and the collection of educational data and statistics for the country as a whole. The first all-India statistics were published in 1949-50 and these have been published annually thereafter, the latest available published statistics being for the year 1960-61. A Publication Section has also been set up in the Ministry of Education and most State Governments have their own Publication Divisions. Consequently, educational information is now available in fair abundance and for all parts of the country.

The total educational expenditure in the country has also increased very greatly in the post-independence period. In 1946-47, the total educational expenditure in the British Indian provinces was about Rs. 590 million and that in India as a whole was about Rs. 800 million. In 1960-61, the total educational expenditure in the country has increased to Rs. 3,440 million. The largest part of this increase is due to bigger allocations from Central and State revenues. Next in order of importance come fees. The local bodies, particularly the Municipalities, have also contributed a fair proportion of the increase.

the fact that students are not always rightly advised to choose the type of career that would suit them best with the result that they often become misfits and even 'unemployable'. This evil can be circumvented through the provision of educational and vocational guidance. During the last 14 years, a fairly wide programme of such guidance has been built up, as stated earlier, and it is proposed to be expanded in the third Plan. But the most important cause of the evil is the failure to relate the provision of educational facilities, particularly in the secondary schools and colleges of the academic type, to the employment opportunities available in society. These institutions turn out students who are good mostly for the white-collared professions. As there is no selective system of admissions either to secondary schools or colleges and as there is hardly any effective control on the increase in the number of such institutions, hundreds and thousands of graduates and matriculates are annually coming out of colleges and secondary schools and creating a glut in the employment market where the increase in the job opportunities is comparatively slow. Here the only remedies can be two: (1) restricting the output of matriculates and graduates in relation to the employment opportunities likely to be available; or (2) creating employment opportunities to match the output of general secondary schools and arts colleges. The first is probably more feasible; but it can hardly be adopted in a society whose large sections of population were suppressed for centuries and are only now entering the field of secondary and higher education. The second is more difficult because it is related to economic growth and its difficulty has become all the greater because of the enormous rise in population. It is because of the failure to remedy this imbalance between the output of educational institutions and the employment opportunities available, that the evil of educated unemployment is continuously increasing in magnitude.

By far the greatest reason for dissatisfaction against the educational developments in the post-independence period is the failure, by and large, to reorientate the educational system to the requirements of the new social order which the country has decided to create. India has deliberately chosen the democratic way of life and the socialistic pattern of society. If such a social order is to be ushered in and stabilised, citizens imbued

with several important values are needed. These would include: a love of the motherland combined with a deep insight into its 'unity in diversity' ; a catholic and tolerant attitude towards others ; respect and understanding of a democratic way of life ; a love of discipline and a capacity for self-restraint ; an interest in science and the development of a scientific outlook ; a faith in the dignity of labour and a capacity to work hard and efficiently; and a basic humanism that will scorn all privileges based on caste, race, colour, sex or religion. The relevant questions in this context, therefore, are : What should be the content of education and the methods of teaching in order to build up these values ? How far does the existing system of education help to promote them ? To what extent do our administrators and teachers show an awareness of these problems and what measures should be adopted to make them realise the significance of these values and to train them in the methods of building them up through school programmes ? To what extent do pupils coming out of the schools and colleges imbibe these values? What type of a machinery for evaluation should be built into the educational system to find out the extent to which the students imbibe these values and to reform the contents and techniques of education in the light of the findings from time to time? Any attempt to answer questions of this type is a little disturbing.

If these deficiencies of the existing educational system are to be remedied and if it is to be reorientated on the desired lines, it is obvious that the country will have to spend a much larger amount on education than it does at present. Mere allocation of funds, however, is not enough. What is of far greater importance is the development of significant educational programmes calculated to produce the type of citizens we need, the development of research and a system of continuous self-evaluation, the recruitment of competent and devoted persons as teachers, the organisation of their training at the highest possible level of efficiency, and the creation of conditions in educational institutions under which the teachers and students can live and work together to the best advantage. This is the challenge that faces the country during the next fifteen years and some details of the programmes that might help to meet it will be discussed in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

LONG-TERM EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA

(1966-1981)

Special Features of the Next Three Plans

The next 10-15 years form the most crucial period in the history of India and the entire future of the country depends upon what happens or does not happen in this period. Since education is the most significant factor in national development, it is obvious that the entire future of the country would largely depend upon the development of Indian education during the next 10-15 years. It is, therefore, essential to take a long-term view of the problem, to prepare a perspective plan of educational development to cover the next three Plans taken together and to finalise the fourth Five Year Plan.

The Sargent Plan prepared in 1944 tried to cover a period of 40 years. Even then, it felt that it was not probably taking a sufficiently long-range view and quoted an Eastern proverb which says that if you want to produce men, plan for a hundred years. The pace of change has very greatly quickened in recent times; but nevertheless it is both possible and desirable to look at least fifteen years ahead in order to decide the direction in which our next steps are going to be taken.

What are likely to be the special features of the next three Plans? It appears that, in attempting educational development during this period, the following five special features will have to be emphasised:

(*a*) *Shifting of Emphasis to Qualitative Improvement:* The first fundamental need is to shift the emphasis to qualitative improvement. The last sixteen years have been a period of unprecedented expansion in Indian education and the tempo of expansion, at all levels and in all sectors of education, has mounted up increasingly from the post-war period (1947-50) to the first Plan (1951-56), from the first to the second (1956-61) and from the second to the third (1961-66). Consequently, the quality of

education has been diluted to some extent especially because it has not been adequately emphasised at any time. The dangers of this dilution, and the possibility of still further dilution under the impact of the future expansion, have now been recognised on all hands and there is universal agreement on the view that, in the next three Plans, the emphasis will have to be shifted to qualitative improvement of education.

(*b*) *Continued Expansion*: This shift in emphasis does not necessarily imply a restriction on expansion. In spite of the unprecedented expansion of education which has taken place during the last fifteen years, India has become, by no means, an over-educated country. In the age-group 6-14, only 60 per cent of the children would have been enrolled in schools by the end of the third Plan. During the next fifteen years, therefore, universal education would have to be provided in this age-group in order to fulfil the Directive of Article 45 of the Constitution. At the secondary stage, only 16 per cent of the children in the age-group 14-17 would have been enrolled in schools in a secondary course whose duration, by and large, would be three years. By the end of the sixth Plan, the duration of the secondary course would have to be raised to four years and the enrolments in secondary schools would have to be increased to about 40 per cent of the children in the age-group 15-18. At the university stage, the total enrolment in 1965-66 would be only 2.4 per cent of the age-group 18-23. By 1980-81, this will have to be increased to about 10 per cent of the age-group 19-24. These enrolments are, by no means, excessive when compared to the standards of education already reached in advanced countries. They are, however, the minimum essential for the industrialised modern society which we are striving to create in India. It is, therefore, evident that, during the next fifteen years, the quantitative expansion of education will have to continue, in spite of the shift in emphasis to qualitative improvement. The third Plan will thus see the close of an era of rapid expansion in which qualitative improvement was generally less emphasised. The next fifteen years will be a period when we will have to take care of quantity and quality alike.

(*c*) *Limitations on Financial Resources*: This simultaneous attempt to improve quantity and quality will naturally need large financial resources. Unfortunately, the Chinese aggression has

created a situation wherein a substantial portion of national resources, which would otherwise have been available for developmental programmes, would be earmarked for defence preparation. This necessarily implies limitations on the resources which the public sector can provide for education. The implication is thus obvious: we shall have to attempt a much larger task in the quantitative and qualitative improvement of education with financial resources which are not expanding quite in proportion. Would this be possible?

The first reaction to this situation is likely to be negative on the ground that the 'more and better' education we need cannot be provided without a proportionate increase in educational expenditure. Such a viewpoint, however, betrays defeatism or escapism. It would be better to consider this situation as a challenge which necessitates us to think hard, even harder than the educators of advanced countries which have fewer problems to face and ampler resources to command. We can meet this situation and perform, what superficially appears to be an impossible task, by adopting a number of devices. First and foremost, we shall have to give up the very common tendency to 'imitate' the practices of advanced countries partly because these practices do not suit our conditions and partly because no mechanical limitation can ever serve a useful purpose in the solution of social or educational problems. We will also have to restrain the common trend 'to pass on our problems to foreign experts for solution', although their advice and guidance would necessarily be of much use in our efforts to solve them. We will have to devise ways and means of supplementing public support for education, on which alone limitations are being placed by the present situation, through private sources which should be stimulated to a much greater extent than at present. We will also have to take steps to plug all causes of wastage and to devise measures to see that every *paisa* allocated to education goes the longest way. This implies careful planning and harder work on the part of all concerned—students, teachers and administrators. If these measures are attempted, it would be possible to achieve the difficult task of securing a simultaneous improvement in the quantity and quality of education in spite of a comparatively restricted allocation from public resources.

(*d*) *Relating Educational Reconstruction to Economic Growth:* The fundamental feature of the Indian scene is the appal-

ling poverty of the people, and the most important task before the country is to raise their standard of living to a point where it becomes comparable with that in the more progressive countries of the world. This is necessarily a long-term project. But during the next 10-15 years, we shall have to develop the economy in such a way that the 'take off' stage is reached very soon, sometime before the end of the fourth Plan, and the national dividend is about doubled in 15 years—from Rs. 330 in 1961 to about Rs. 600 in 1981 (at constant prices). This would imply a supreme effort in economic development for which Indians would have to work extremely hard and deny several comforts and privileges to themselves while the friendly advanced nations will have to come forward with unstinted and more liberal assistance.

The main justification for the larger outlay on educational reconstruction which will be needed during the next 10-15 years and, especially in the fourth Plan, is the hypothesis that education is the most important single factor which leads to economic growth and that the order of economic development which we visualise would be unattainable but for the educational reconstruction that we now propose. To establish this, education would have to be geared intimately to productivity which, in its turn, depends upon the efficiency of individual workers and the adoption of modern techniques of production based on the development of science and technology.

Unfortunately, Indian education has never been properly geared to economic growth. During the British period, it was geared to several goals: the administrative need of creating a body of Indians who would help in running a modern administration ; the cultural need of making Indians aware of the science and literature of the West ; the desirability of changing obsolete traditional ideas and superstitions with a view to creating a modern social order ; and under the impact of the Gandhian era, to the struggle for freedom. But, by and large, the co-ordination of educational development with economic growth was not contemplated, either by the British administrators or by the large body of Indian nationalists prior to 1947. The scheme of basic education was probably the first attempt in this direction. But for several reasons, it has not worked well and, at any rate, has to be reconsidered and adjusted to the needs of the industrialised society which we are trying to create. During the last fifteen years, therefore, these traditional objectives of the educational

system have largely continued to dominate the scene, and attempts to relate educational reconstruction to economic development have neither been made nor have they succeeded to any appreciable extent, except in some aspects of technical education.

The effort to co-ordinate educational reconstruction with economic growth would, therefore, have to begin on a large scale in the fourth Plan and will have to be intensified severalfold as the years pass on. The most crucial steps in this process are: the diversification and vocationalisation of the secondary course so that, by 1981, a large proportion of the children in secondary schools would be pursuing intensive vocational courses which would prepare them, not for entrance to a University as at present, but for various walks of life, especially in the industrial and agricultural sector; the development of technical and vocational education at the university stage also on similar lines; and the development of scientific, technological and industrial research. It is hardly necessary to examine these problems in detail here; and it will be readily agreed that the attempt to relate education directly to economic growth should be one of the most significant features of educational reconstruction in the next 10-15 years and especially in the fourth Plan.

(*e*) *Emphasis on the Human Factor*: Educational reconstruction must emphasise the human factor because, in the last analysis, the success of an educational system is to be sought for in its products, *i.e.*, in the cultural level, professional competence and character of the men and women who come out of its portals. This aspect of the problem has received inadequate attention in the last fifteen years and we have accustomed ourselves to the evaluation of educational progress in terms of colourless statistics—the number of students enrolled at the various stages of education and the expenditure incurred thereon. It is now being increasingly realised, however, that a mere expansion of the apparatus of education is not necessarily synonymous with progress, that bad or indifferent education can lead the country to disaster and be even worse than no education, and that what the country needs is 'more and more' of 'better and better' education which would turn out, in ever increasing numbers, competent, responsible and useful citizens who would create a richer and more just social order based on democracy.

This emphasis on the proper development of the students, in its turn, needs emphasis on two other human factors. The first of these is the teacher. We need an army of good teachers, well-informed, well-adjusted, competent and devoted to their duty. At present, the bringing up of the next generation is being left more and more to the 'lesser' representatives of the present generation—a situation which is fraught with danger to the entire future of the country. Instead of this, we have to create a situation where the bringing up of the next generation would be left more and more to the 'better' part of the present generation. This implies a very earnest consideration of all problems relating to teachers: improvement of their remuneration, provision of adequate retirement benefits, institution of welfare services, pre-service and in-service training, promotion of professional organisations to undertake programmes of academic betterment, and according them their rightful status as the builders of the greater India of tomorrow.

The second human factor is that of administrators. During the British period, the administrator of education was an alien who was generally unacquainted with, and incapable of understanding, the innermost aspirations of the people. When the struggle for freedom began and came to be supported, in increasing numbers, by the educated intelligentsia, he developed a police aspect wherein his primary responsibility was to see that education did not develop into antipathy to British rule. In the post-independence period, the administration of education has been fully Indianised ; but the earlier 'police' traditions still continue to dominate, although in a different context. What is worse, the expansion and improvement of educational administration has generally been neglected, with the result that the Education Departments of today are far less equipped to deal with the immense tasks of educational reconstruction than they were at any earlier time in the past. What is needed is a substantial increase in the personnel of the Education Departments and a revolution in its character: they have to be converted from a body of 'administrators' who deal mainly with statistics, financial sanctions, grants-in-aid, transfers and appointments, and enquiries into all sorts of complaints, into an organisation of 'educationists' who would be imaginative enough to realise the goals of educational reconstruction, sensitive enough to know the needs and demands of the people, competent enough to plan and

implement satisfactory programmes of educational reconstruction and able enough to function as the friends, philosophers and guides of teachers who, in their turn, would extend a similar service to parents and students.

The body of students will also have to play its proper role in the proposed educational reconstruction side by side with the teachers and educational administrators. In the first instance, they will have to work far harder than at present. A great Indian educator has humorously observed that, in our schools, and particularly in our colleges, the vacations extend from one end of the year to another. This is a profound statement which highlights the fact that Indian students work far less than those in other advanced countries, particularly at the secondary and university stages and that their motivation leaves much to be desired. Simultaneously we will have to see that we give the students a much better deal than at present by providing better financial support and by making better provision for their residence, studies, health and welfare. These and other problems of the student world will have to receive the utmost emphasis during the next fifteen years.

Evaluation of Previous Experience and Perspective Planning: The tasks to be faced in the fourth and subsequent Plans are thus extremely complex and difficult. Fortunately, we are in a better position to tackle them successfully. This is due mainly to the experience gained in educational planning in India during the last twenty-five years.

The idea of educational planning was first put forward by the National Planning Committee which was appointed by the Indian National Congress, as early as 1938, under the Chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This Committee has published a volume on *Education* which outlines the first ideas of a planned development of education in India. This was followed by the plan for *Post-War Educational Development in India,* popularly known as the Sargent Plan, which was published in 1944. It visualised, in a period of forty years (1945-85), the provision of universal education to all children in the age-group 6-14 and the development of secondary and university education on a selective and restricted basis. Although it has several technical flaws, quite understandable in a first exercise of this type, it still remains the one and only comprehensive document on long-term educational planning in the country. Between 1947 and 1951, attempts

were made to develop education somewhat on the lines indicated by the Sargent Plan; but for several reasons, the Sargent Plan was not accepted as national policy. This would not have meant serious harm if another long-term plan had been prepared instead. But that was not done and the first Five Year Plan was prepared as a short-term plan on its own merits. This was followed by two more Plans, also prepared on the same *ad hoc* and short-term basis. As the mid-term appraisal of the third Plan has just been completed, we may be said to have practical experience of educational planning for twenty-five years and of serious implementation of educational plans for about fifteen years. Unfortunately, no systematic evaluation of this experience has been made so far. If this could be done in the next year or two, we will have very useful data on the successes and failures of our attempt to reconstruct education. These will obviously be of immense use for preparation of future plans in general and the fourth Five Year Plan in particular.

Educational planning must necessarily take a long-range view. It is, therefore, unfortunate that we have not accepted the Sargent Plan and have also not been able to produce an alternative comprehensive perspective plan for educational development in India. A suggestion to this effect was made at the beginning of the third Plan; but it remained unimplemented. It would, therefore, be extremely worth while now to prepare a perspective plan of educational development in India between 1965-66 and 1980-81, especially as the background data for such planning are now available and to orientate the fourth Plan against the background of this perspective plan. The advantages of this exercise are obvious. But to be of immediate practical value, it must also be attempted during the next year or two.

With these preliminary observations, we may now proceed to give a broad outline of a perspective plan of educational development during the fourth, fifth and sixth Plans and to indicate, against its background, the broad outline of the fourth Plan and the major problems to be faced therein. This task may be attempted in three stages: in the first, we will deal with a few general issues which relate to all stages of education; in the second, we will deal with the different sectors of education; and in the third, we will deal with a few important aspects of the problem of teachers, administration, and finance.

Objectives of Education. The first issue to be raised relates to the objectives of education and to the major educational programmes to be devised to achieve them. Some of the objectives of education are *absolute* in the sense that they are true of all countries and of all times. The 'harmonious development of the personality of a child' is, for instance, an absolute objective of education. We have concentrated far too much on such absolute concepts because they are easy to be borrowed from standard textbooks written elsewhere. It may be pointed out, however, that it is not enough to state the absolute objectives of education only. It is also necessary to supplement them by a clear statement of *topical* objectives which are true of a given country at a given time and which, therefore, vary from time to time and place to place. There is no inherent contradiction between the absolute and topical objectives. On the other hand, the topical objectives are of very great practical importance because they give 'a local habitation and a name' to what often tends to be an 'airy nothing'.

An illustration may help to clarify the point. The objective of 'national emotional integration' is obviously of paramount importance in the India of today, when the unifying forces (such as those created by the anti-imperialist struggle for freedom) have either ceased to operate or are weakening and fissiparous tendencies have come to the surface, particularly after the reorganisation of the States on a linguistic basis. The Prime Minister has observed that this objective is of such vital significance that, if it is not achieved, we will not be in a position to defend our hard-won freedom. The problem of achieving national emotional integration through education becomes, therefore, a 'topical' objective of education of the highest significance during the next ten to fifteen years. Other examples of programmes related to the attainment of significant topical objectives of education can be easily given : (1) development of values, attitudes and habits which are favourable to the stabilisation of democracy which we have adopted as a way of life ; (2) building up of moral and spiritual values in an educational system which has necessarily to be secular in character ; (3) preservation of ancient traditional values and their harmonisation with the needs of a modern social order based on science and technology ; (4) overcoming the proneness to black-coated professions which has been inherent in the

culture of our educated classes and to orientate our educational system to increased productivity; and (5) elimination of such evils as rampant individualism, caste system, etc., and the creation of a new social order based on equality of opportunity and social, political and economic justice. It will readily be agreed that values of this type are of paramount importance in the present situation and have to be placed before the education system as its 'topical' objectives, and suitable programmes have to be devised for their realisation.

The question which we have to pose before ourselves is briefly this: What should be the topical objectives of education in India during the next ten to twenty years and what programmes should we devise in order to achieve them? In particular, what programmes should be taken up from this point of view in the fourth Plan? This is an area where so much work is needed but so little has been done so far.

Content of Education. An equally important issue relates to the content of education. We live today in a highly competitive world; and the chances of our survival and ability to make our own contribution to the life of Man depend mainly upon the competence of the men and women we are able to produce, or, in other words, on the content of the education we provide.

The educational process can be conveniently described as consisting of three inter-related programmes: (1) to give knowledge; (2) to build up essential skills; and (3) to develop the right attitudes, interests and values. While all these three programmes are essential for a discussion of the content of education, we shall restrict ourselves only to the first, the knowledge content of education, for reasons of convenience. But what we say about it here is obviously applicable, with even greater force, to the other two programmes.

Two significant trends are seen in the advanced countries of the world in educational development. The first is the trend to prolong the duration of education; and the second is the trend to put more content in the same period of schooling. For instance, the duration of compulsory schooling has been increased from 6 to 8 or 9 years and attempts are being made to increase it still further to 10 or 12 years. At the same time, owing to improvement in teachers, teaching methods and equipment, children are learning more and more within a

given span of education. At the end of the eighth year of schooling, for instance, a child today learns things which were normally learnt in the ninth or the tenth year of schooling, ten or fifteen years previously, and this trend is continuously on the increase.

We are not quite sure that this is happening in all parts of India or that it is happening with sufficient speed. An historical study of the development of curricula at the different stages of education in all the States of India would throw very interesting light on this problem. By and large, however, we might say that the content of our education today does not provide adequate challenges, either to the students or to the teachers. At the elementary stage, for instance, there has been considerable improvement in the general education and training of teachers. But the content of elementary education has hardly increased in proportion. At the secondary stage, the mother-tongue has been adopted as the medium of instruction. This should have facilitated the assimilation of knowledge very considerably. But it is doubtful whether the upgrading of the curricula of secondary schools has taken adequate note of the implications of this change. Similar observations may also be made at the university stage in respect of all courses, except probably such highly specialised courses as those of Medicine, where not to keep abreast of latest developments means death. By and large, our secondary schools now teach a good deal of what should be taught at the elementary stage and the colleges teach a good deal of what should really be taught at the secondary stage. Indian education would have to be pulled out of this unhappy situation in the next fifteen years.

Dr. D. S. Kothari, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, has suggested that we should plan, not only in quantitative terms of enrolments and duration of courses, but also in the more significant terms of content. As a concrete proposal, he has suggested that, by the end of the fifth Plan, the standard to be reached at the end of the secondary stage should be equivalent to the present Intermediate and that to be reached at the end of the first degree stage, should be approximately equal to that now reached at the Master's degree. One need not be very dogmatic about any particular suggestion ; but the underlying idea of this suggestion is very clear. The content of education must be continually and consciously deepened. This is an important aspect of the problem which has

been neglected totally in all our planning so far and we must introduce it in the educational planning of the future.

It is obvious that such deepening of the content, not only in information but in skills and values, will imply considerable research in curriculum-making and in the development of newer and more efficient techniques of teaching and evaluation. It will also imply an improvement of teachers from every point of view and particularly from that of academic competence.

In this connection, a reference may specially be made to the teaching of science. This is one area where our old traditions are the weakest. In ancient India, we evolved a philosophy which shows the highest flights of imagination and provides one of the greatest measures of truth in relation to the fundamental problems of life and death. But we did not develop a scientific tradition and the development of a scientific attitude in our midst was hampered, rather than promoted, by the authoritarian traditions we cultivated. A history of education in the world shows that, at the end of the Middle ages, the conditions in East and West were more or less alike and that it is the development of science that has made the West so different from the East today. Our future development, therefore, lies in the assimilation of science and in the cultivation of a scientific attitude. The elimination of poverty, the disruption of traditions like the caste system and the modernisation of our society entirely depend upon the acceptance of modern science and technology and the building up of scientific attitudes among the public at large.

We have, therefore, to place the highest emphasis on the teaching of science at all stages. The curricula in science will, therefore, have to be revised very largely and the revision will have to be kept up almost continuously in view of the latest developments in the scientific world. The preparation of our science teachers will have to be improved in quality and increased in quantity. Scientific talent will have to be identified and provided with adequate opportunity for full development. These are programmes whose value and significance have now been accepted in principle by all concerned—the Central and State Governments, teachers and the public. What is needed is the evolution of concrete and realistic programmes of action.

Cultivation of Excellence. Another important programme of educational reconstruction is the cultivation of excellence

—the provision of the best educational opportunity possible to all talented children. It is this programme which gives a unique distinction to the Soviet system of education and to a greater or lesser degree, it is a feature of the educational systems of all the advanced countries.

In India, however, our time has been mostly taken up so far with the basic task of providing minimum educational facilities to as many children as possible and we have not been able to develop a programme for discovery of talent and for its systematic cultivation to the full.

Consequently, the bulk of the talent remains undeveloped at present for several reasons. Since the enrolment at the elementary stage is about 60 per cent of the total population in the age-group 6-14, forty per cent of the talent remains, for all practical purposes, outside the educational system. Even among the children enrolled, only twenty per cent reach class VIII and the talent among the remaining 80 per cent, who drop off on the wayside at different stages, is also unutilised. Large drop-outs occur at the secondary and collegiate stages also. It may, therefore, be said that only a small fraction of the total talent available in the country is now being exposed to educational influences.

The remedial programme is obvious. We have to make an intensive search to discover talent at all stages—elementary, secondary, and university. A far larger programme of scholarships from the middle school to the university has to be created. Measures have to be devised to bring talented students into good schools and under the influence of good teachers and, for that purpose, a continuous attempt has to be made to increase the number of good institutions. Even in the ordinary schools, teachers have to be trained to discover talented students and to help them by providing more difficult curricula and personal guidance. The provision of advanced courses which students can take at various levels, particularly at the end of elementary or secondary stages, can be a very worthwhile suggestion from this point of view. These programmes have to be taken up, on a fairly large scale, in the fourth and developed still further in the subsequent Plans.

Elementary Education. We shall now turn to the discussion of some of the more important sectors of education and begin with elementary education—an area where the magnitude of the problem is very large but its complexity is comparatively

less. There is, for instance, no difference of opinion on the goal to be reached, *viz.*, the provision of free and compulsory education for all children till the age of 14 years. The goal was to have been reached by 1960. But this did not become possible. The third Plan, therefore, suggested a revised goal, *viz.*, the provision of educational facilities for all children in the age-group 6-11 by the end of the third Plan and the extension of similar facilities to the age-group 11-14 by the end of the fifth Plan. It now appears that even this revised goal will be possible only in the States of Kerala and Madras and in the Union Territory of Delhi. The States of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Mysore, Punjab and West Bengal, and the remaining Union Territories would be able to provide universal education in the age-group 6-11 by the end of the fourth Plan (1970-71) and it may be towards the end of the sixth Plan (1980-81) only that they would be in a position to provide similar educational facilities in the age-group 11-14. Conditions are even worse in the six States of Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh which, in this respect, are usually known as the backward or less advanced States. These six States would be able to provide universal education in the age-group 6-11 by the end of the fifth Plan (1975-76) only and unless radical measures are taken to assist them, they would not be in a position to provide universal education in the age-group 11-14 earlier than the end of the seventh plan (1985-86). The provision of a minimum universal education of eight years is absolutely essential in the interest of social justice and stabilisation of democracy. It would, therefore, be suicidal to postpone the realisation of this goal, on which our Constitution has rightly placed the highest emphasis, to the seventh Plan or beyond. On the other hand, to bring it very near (*e.g.*, end of the fourth or fifth Plan) would be unrealistic ; and, in view of the comparatively meagre funds likely to be available for educational development as a whole, such a step would distort priorities in other sectors of education. A realistic goal, therefore, would be to enrol all children in the age-group 6-11 and about 75 per cent of the children in the age-group 11-14 by the end of the fifth Plan (1975-76) so that the directive of Article 45 of the Constitution would be fulfilled by the end of the sixth Plan or 1980-81. It is towards this end that our attempts should now be directed.

The problem of basic education is of great significance in this

context. As early as 1949, basic education was adopted as the national pattern of education at the elementary stage. The country is thus committed to convert all elementary schools to the basic system as quickly as possible. But this programme has not proceeded well. On the one hand, only 21 per cent of the elementary schools would have been converted to the basic system by the end of the third Plan ; and on the other hand, a large proportion of even the so-called basic schools are not working satisfactorily. This situation has led to a good deal of controversy in recent months. One group of thinkers concludes that basic education has failed and that the entire experiment should be scrapped. Another group is as firmly convinced as ever that the system of basic education is *the* answer to the problems of elementary education in India and pleads for a better and more vigorous implementation of the programme. In between, there is a third group which believes that the principles on which the scheme of basic education is founded are intrinsically sound and advocates a substantial modification of the scheme with a view to its universalisation in the fourth and subsequent Plans. Very probably, this would be the direction of future development. A definite decision of policy in this matter is, therefore, needed ; and, whatever the decision, it will have to be vigorously implemented during the next fifteen years.

There is another point to be noted in this context. We are committed, not only to give *free and compulsory education,* but also *good education,* which would make children useful and responsible citizens. During the next three Plans, therefore, the emphasis will have to be placed, not only on the quantitative aspect of this programme but on its qualitative aspect also. For this purpose, we will have to raise the content of elementary education fairly high. A good deal of the education given in our secondary schools today is really 'elementary', and it was from this point of view that Mahatma Gandhi said that a programme of basic education should reach the Matriculation standard *minus* English *plus* craft. We have to stand by this goal, with English added.

The development of elementary education, therefore, presents several problems : (1) provision of educational facilities in small and scattered hamlets ; (2) enforcement of compulsory attendance ; (3) enrolment of girls and children belonging to the weaker sections of the community, particularly the tribal people ; (4) reduc-

tion of wastage and stagnation in all classes and particularly in class I where it is particularly heavy ; (5) preparation of elementary teachers inclusive of all problems of recruitment, general education, remuneration, service conditions, and professional training (pre- and in-service ; (6) improvement in curricula, text-books, techniques of teaching and evaluation ; (7) evolving methods of teaching suited to the management of bigger classes or working under the double-shift system which is being forced on us on financial grounds ; (8) modifying basic education and taking all steps necessary to make it a success ; (9) improving the administration of education with special reference to the problems of Panchayati Raj Institutions which are being placed in charge of elementary education ; and (10) making the school a real and effective centre in the life of the community.

Secondary Education. Secondary education has proverbially been the weakest link in Indian education. During the British period, its main objectives were two : (1) preparation of a student for university entrance, and (2) to teach the English language. A few half-hearted measures at diversification of secondary curricula and the introduction of vocational courses which would prepare students for life were made, especially after 1921, but without much success. The position has continued to be substantially the same in the post-Independence period also, in spite of the Report of the Mudaliar Commission and all that has been done so far to implement it. In fact, the position today is even worse than what it was in 1947 because of the controversies that have been raised. We do not seem to agree on any significant issue such as the age of admission to universities, the duration of the secondary course, the utility or otherwise of multipurpose schools and the programmes of vocational education at the secondary stage.

While a very great importance is attached to elementary education in the interests of social justice and as the foundation of the entire super-structure of education, secondary education is really the nation-building education. In the next fifteen years, therefore, a very high emphasis will have to be placed on the expansion and qualitative improvement of secondary education. On the quantitative side, we will have to increase the duration of the secondary course to four years—the sooner the better. We would also have to provide more facilities for secondary education, particularly in the rural areas and for girls and the weaker

sections of the community, and to raise the total enrolment in secondary schools, on a full-time or part-time basis to about 40 per cent of the age-group. We have done very little so far to provide part-time secondary education; but this is a programme which is badly needed in our present economic conditions.

It is, however, the qualitative improvement of secondary education which is of even greater significance. This has three aspects: the first is the deepening of the content of secondary education so that, by the end of the fourth (or the fifth Plan at the latest), the standard attained at the end of the secondary stage, would be almost equivalent to that of the present Intermediate. This implies better teachers, with post-graduate qualifications and improved professional training; better buildings and equipment—particularly the provision of libraries and laboratories; and a large provision of scholarships to enable talented but poor students to pursue their studies in secondary schools. It will also imply a selective approach for qualitative improvement under which a given number of secondary schools would be assisted to improve their standards every year.

The second aspect of the qualitative improvement of secondary education relates to the programme of diversification. The basis of the present-day secondary education was laid at a time when the one objective of secondary education was to prepare a student for the university. This still continues to dominate the scene and our secondary schools, still try to fit a boy to a university and in the process 'almost unfit him for everything else'. We have, therefore, to diversify the secondary course by the introduction of a large number of subjects which will prepare them for life by providing training in some vocation or the other. The most significant recent attempt made in this direction was the establishment of multipurpose schools. This programme has, however, not fared well, particularly in the absence of the right type of teachers. It is, therefore, necessary to evaluate the experiment and modify it to the extent necessary. The third Plan decided to mark time and to consolidate the existing multipurpose schools before attempting further expansion. But there is an urgent need to evaluate the consolidation (if any) that has taken place and to decide the future line of action in the fourth and subsequent Plans.

The third aspect of improvement is large-scale vocationalisation. The number of students who attend vocational courses

at the secondary stage in India is probably the lowest in the world. In West Germany, for instance, about 70 per cent of the students at the secondary stage follow vocational courses which prepare them for life. In Japan, this percentage is about 60. The position in most of the advanced and industrialised countries is the same. But in India, only 12 per cent of the students, enrolled at the second level of education, follow vocational courses. Our programmes of rapid industrialisation are being held up for want of 'middle level' personnel which only the vocational secondary schools can produce. During the next three Plans, therefore, the proportion of students at the second level of education who take to vocational courses will have to be increased to at least 40 per cent. Since the vocational schools are generally costlier to equip and maintain, this programme of vocationalisation has large implications in the preparation of teachers and in the provision of funds.

The problem of examination reform looms large at the secondary stage. At the elementary stage, there are no compulsory external examinations. But the School Leaving Certificate Examination, held at the end of the secondary stage, presents several problems. It may probably be worthwhile to take courage in both hands and abolish the external examinations at the end of the secondary course just as we have abolished them at the elementary stage. But this is just not practicable; and the only realistic programme to be adopted is one of a gradual reform from within. The Evaluation Unit in the National Council of Educational Research and Training is trying to tackle this problem, mainly through the in-service education of teachers. But it has not been able to produce any impact as such on the secondary school leaving examination system. This is very largely an administrative and organisational problem; and it will have to be tackled vigorously in the fourth and subsequent Plans.

Higher Education. The main directions in which higher education in India will have to be developed during the next 10-15 years have now been generally recognised, thanks to the very useful work done in this sector by Dr. D. S. Kothari, the Chairman of the University Grants Commission. It is now agreed that, at the university stage, the highest emphasis has to be on the improvement of quality. At this level, there are no State barriers or even international barriers. Our best colleges

or university departments have, therefore, to be on a par with their counterparts in any part of the world. This can only be done by selecting institutions where there is a good potential for growth and helping them to reach the highest efficiency possible. It is from this point of view that the University Grants Commission put forward its scheme of 'advanced centres of learning'. This is making good progress in the third Plan and will have to be developed very largely during the fourth and subsequent Plans. On the same basis, we shall also have to develop a scheme under which a few individual colleges are selected every year and assisted to improve their standards to as high a level as possible.

Expansion of facilities at the university stage also is badly needed. The enrolment at the university stage at the end of the second Plan was only 1.8 per cent of the age-group 17-23 and this is expected to rise to only 2.4 per cent of the corresponding age-group at the end of the third Plan. This is much lower than the standards already reached in the advanced countries of the West. It is, therefore, felt that, by the end of the sixth Plan, the enrolment at the university stage should reach about 10 per cent of the corresponding age-group.

The third proposal of reform is to change the composition of the student body at the university stage very considerably. At present, the possibility of a student availing himself of university education depends more upon the purse of his parents than upon his own talents. Consequently, we have a twofold wastage: a large number of gifted students who ought to be in the universities are not there, due mainly to financial reasons; and, on the other hand, a large number of students who ought not to be there, have been enrolled for the simple reason that they could afford the expenditure involved.

During the next 10-15 years, this picture will have to be considerably changed through a process of selection and scholarships. The talented students will have to be discovered even at the elementary stage and helped to go on to the secondary stage. The best students at the secondary stage would have to be again discovered and assisted, through a liberal programme of scholarships, to proceed on to the degree course; and the best students at the degree course would have to be helped further to go in for the post-graduate or research degrees. Today, only about 15 per cent of the students at the university stage get some form of

scholarship aid which is often inadequate. This proportion will have to be substantially increased and, by the end of the fifth Plan, we will have to provide scholarships to about half the students at the degree level and to about 80 per cent of the students at the post-graduate level so that the most talented group of students in the country, irrespective of caste, sex or religion, is admitted to the privilege of higher education.

During the next 10-15 years, special emphasis would also have to be laid on the maintenance of the highest standards, combined with very rapid expansion, at the post-graduate stage. Our expansion of collegiate and secondary education is now so rapid, in comparison with that at the post-graduate stage, that it is becoming almost impossible to get good teachers for secondary schools and colleges, even by raising the salaries to an appreciable extent. In many places, second-class degree holders are appointed to posts where a first-class degree is essential; and when even second-class degree holders are not available, third-class degree holders are perforce selected. Consequently, the standards at the collegiate level are going down and this, in its turn, is affecting the standards in secondary schools. It is, therefore, realised that the key to qualitative improvement of education is a very large expansion of the post-graduate stage simultaneously with an improvement in its standards. It is only this measure which will provide us the teachers with whose assistance we can expand collegiate and secondary education, without diluting quality, on the scale that is contemplated at present. The significance of this programme is, therefore, obvious and, as it is the first step in the whole series, it will have to be taken up on a very large scale in the fourth Plan itself.

One of the most controversial issues in university education at present refers to the medium of instruction. In the past, the use of English as medium of instruction did not create major problems at the university stage because there was a great emphasis on the teaching of English at the secondary stage and the students came to the university with a fairly good command over the language. Since 1947, the emphasis on the teaching of English at the secondary stage has been reduced very considerably with the result that the average student, who now enters the university, is not in a position to follow the lectures in English or to read English books with fluency and pleasure. The natural consequence of this policy at the secondary stage would, there-

fore, be to adopt the modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the university stage also. Steps towards this end are being taken and a number of universities have permitted the teaching of certain subjects in the modern Indian languages and have also allowed students to answer examination papers in their mother-tongue. But progress is slow for want of a suitable terminology and textbooks in the Indian languages.

It is inevitable that, sooner or later, the regional languages will have to be adopted as the media of instruction at the university stage and it may, therefore, be desirable to prepare an intensive and phased programme for the change-over and to plan to reach this goal, by and large, by 1981. During the next fifteen years, therefore, the greatest emphasis would have to be laid on the production of an adequate number of textbooks and other standard works in all the modern Indian languages so that the standards at the university stage would not deteriorate. This would be an immense programme of action which would need both talent and money.

As the regional languages gradually become the media of instruction in the Indian universities and are simultaneously adopted in the administration of the States concerned, the problem of a link-language—a common language in which Indians from different parts of the country could communicate with each other—would arise. Obviously the first link-language would be Hindi which has been declared to be the official language of the Indian Union. During the next fifteen years, intensive steps would have to be taken to develop Hindi on the lines which have been initiated in the first three Plans and it would have to be given its due status as the official language. At the same time, efforts would have to be intensified to popularise Hindi in the non-Hindi speaking States.

But India also needs another link-language—English—which would provide it, not only with a common channel of communication amongst Indians, but also with a 'window on the world'. Without a good knowledge of English, attainment of high standards at the university stage is not at all possible. English has also become a world language and a good knowledge of English is essential for every educated Indian. Steps will, therefore, have to be taken to intensively cultivate the study of English also. At present, there are various practices to teach English at the school stage. These will have to be examined on the basis of

sound research and a good system of teaching English at the school stage would have to be devised. At the university stage also, an intensive study of English as a language would have to be made compulsory. Most important of all, adequate provision would have to be made to create 'nurseries' for preparing the necessary number of teachers of English literature in colleges and of English language in schools and colleges. For this purpose, we will have to encourage and maintain some schools which would begin the teaching of English very early and also establish training institutions where a four-year course in the English language is integrated with elements of pedagogy.

There is another point which deserves notice. In the interests of national integration, it is necessary to have an elite which would come from all parts of the country but which would be educated in common educational institutions. One good proposal to this end would be to establish National Universities which would adopt Hindi and English as media of instruction. In universities where English is the medium of instruction, the study of Hindi should be compulsory and *vice versa.* These universities should all be financed by the Central Government and should maintain the highest standards possible. They should provide scholarships to most of their students who should be selected on a competitive basis from all parts of the country, a quota on population basis being allocated to each State. A beginning may be made with a few National Universities. But ultimately, there should be a National University in every State. Apart from producing an elite which would bind the whole country together, these universities would also spur the other universities on to ever-increasing heights of excellence.

Research is one of the most important functions of the universities and development of research in education, humanities, science and technology should be one of the highest priorities during the next fifteen years. In India, very little expenditure is incurred on this sector at present. It is, however, well to remember that the future development of education, culture and industry in the country depends very largely on the quality and quantity of the research that we would be able to develop in our universities and other research institutions.

Social Education. One of the greatest weaknesses in the first three Plans has been the neglect of social education. Prior to 1947, the general thinking was that intensive efforts to liquidate illiter-

acy and to educate the masses on proper lines would be undertaken in the post-independence period. But, by and large, these hopes did not materialise. A few attempts to organise mass literacy campaigns were made, particularly in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, but these did not last long enough, nor did they spread to other areas. Neither Government nor the voluntary organisations devoted themselves earnestly to the task of organising mass campaigns for literacy. A new and a useful concept of social education (which included literacy and went much beyond) was evolved ; but it was not possible to expand the programme of social education also. These deficiencies would have to be made up during the next 10-15 years and social education (including the liquidation of adult illiteracy) would have to be given a very high priority.

The problem of mass education is essentially one of motivation and organisation. Massive campaigns of liquidating illiteracy can be successful only if two conditions are satisfied. The first is the generation of a strong mass enthusiasm for a better life, through intensive and nation-wide programmes of extension education. Such programmes would create a mass thirst for literacy. The second condition, therefore, is the creation of an adequate machinery and satisfactory techniques to satisfy this mass thirst when it is once generated. The experience of countries like USSR which has liquidated its illiteracy in a short time could be of very good use to us in this endeavour.

The programmes of social education have also to be developed. The most important group of population on which such a programme should make an impact is that of rural adults, most of whom are agriculturists. It is on the vitalization of this group that the future of development of the economy very largely depends. But it is this group which has been neglected so far and on which even the community development programme has failed to make an adequate impact. The social education movement must address itself mainly to this group during the next 10-15 years. It should deal with a number of vital problems, such as national integration, development of new scientific attitudes, family planning, increasing production, improvement of agriculture, development of rural industries, health and nutrition, care of mothers and children, understanding the implications of development, developing attitudes of hard work, restricting consumption, and understanding responsibilities and duties of a

citizen. The more concrete and vital this programme is, the more effective would the movement be.

Other Programmes. Pre-primary education is another neglected area. What is needed here is a scientific study of our pre-school children ; the evolution of a good course of pre-school education—the situation is rather chaotic today because a number of schemes and programmes are simultaneously in operation, *i.e.*, the Montessori, Kindergarten, nursery or pre-basic and all sorts of combinations of these systems, the training of pre-primary teachers ; the evolution of a simple programme of pre-primary education which would suit rural areas and which could be organised through local women whose educational attainments are not high ; and the organisation of pre-primary schools on a large scale—the enrolment of 10-15 per cent of the children in the age-group 3-6 being a good target to be reached by the end of the sixth Plan.

A similarly neglected area is the education of the handicapped children. The present facilities available are far too meagre. A good target to be reached by 1981 would be to establish one school of a fair size for the blind and the deaf in each district and the provision of one school for the orthopædically and mentally handicapped in conjunction with each medical school or college. Experiments will also have to be made to educate handicapped children in ordinary schools by providing some special facilities—an experiment which obviously has a great future by reason of the reduction of costs it secures.

The education of the backward classes, particularly the tribals, poses several difficult problems, such as, study of tribal cultures or preparation of textbooks and instruction of teachers in tribal languages. The nomadic and erstwhile criminal tribes pose another group of difficult problems.

Teachers. We may now turn to the problems of personnel which would have to be tackled in the next 10-15 years, and especially in the fourth Five Year Plan. These cover mainly the teachers and the administrators.

In respect of teachers, a number of problems need attention. The first and the foremost is the question of their scales of pay. During the last three Plans, the salaries of teachers in universities have been improved considerably and one may even say, satisfactorily. But the problem of teachers in the affiliated colleges—and these form the vast majority of teachers at the university stage—is

yet far from being solved. At the secondary stage, salaries leave much to be desired and the problem is still worse at the elementary stage. It is essential to take a comprehensive view of the problem and to revise the scales of pay of teachers at all levels in accordance with some broad principles among which two are most important: (1) There should be as little gap as possible (or preferably no gap at all) between the remuneration offered to teachers and the persons with similar qualifications and responsibilities in other walks of life ; and (2) the trend should be to raise the salaries at lower levels to a greater extent so that the existing wide gap between teachers of different levels tends to be bridged. A high level National Committee may have to be appointed to examine this issue.

The teachers have demanded that there should be uniform scales of pay for the country as a whole. It may not be possible to meet this demand and scales of pay will continue to vary from State to State. We should, however, take steps to see that the salaries of teachers will not fall below prescribed levels in any state and that, within the same State, there should be no variation of salaries according to managements and that all teachers of a given category would draw the same scale of pay irrespective of the agency under which they happen to serve—Central Government, State Governments, local bodies or private organisations. At present, there are wide variations, even within a State, in the scales of pay given to a category of teachers under different managements. This position will have to be righted as soon as practicable.

In particular, special attention has to be paid to the problem of equalising the dearness allowance paid to teachers working under different categories. In some States, the dearness allowance payable to a category of teachers remains constant, irrespective of the management under which they happen to work. In others, the dearness allowance varies considerably from management to management. For instance, the primary teachers working under local bodies in Bihar get a dearness allowance which is less by about Rs. 20 p.m. than that paid to Government servants drawing the same salary. This is a very invidious discrimination and should be ended as early as possible.

The problem of the old-age provision of teachers is not yet satisfactorily solved. The ideal solution would be for all teachers to get the same type of old-age provision, irrespective of the management under which they might happen to serve. Even if this is not possible, the minimum we should expect is that every

teacher, serving under any management whatsoever, should be entitled at least to the triple-benefit scheme under which he would draw pension at a certain rate, subscribe to a contributory provident fund and also have his life insured for a specific sum. Such a provision has been made for all teachers in some States, for example, Madras. It is necessary to extend the scheme to teachers in other States also. It is the teachers under private organisations who have the poorest provision for old age. It is necessary to extend the benefits of such a scheme to them at an early date.

The concept of welfare services for teachers has not yet been developed so far. It would be essential to take up this idea during the next three Plans and particularly in the fourth Plan. Under this proposal, welfare services would be provided for teachers and cover such matters as health or accident insurance, assistance for education of children, travel grants, etc. The total funds required for the programme may be raised on a contributory basis—the teachers contributing an amount of about one-and-half to two per cent of their salaries and Government contributing an equal amount. The total funds so available should be administered on a district basis through committees consisting of the representatives of teachers and of the Education Department. The professional organisations of teachers would be particularly useful in establishing and running these welfare services. This is a very important programme which should be begun with the fourth Plan and developed fully in the fourth and the fifth Plans.

Adequate provision is also necessary for the pre-service and in-service training of teachers. At the pre-service stage, we need expansion of existing facilities and improvement in quality. At the in-service stage, we have hardly any programme worth the name at present, although it is in-service training that gives the best results in qualitative improvement. It is, therefore, necessary to provide regular in-service training for all teachers on such a basis that every teacher would get about three months' in-service training in every five years of service. A fairly large beginning in this direction should be made in the fourth Five Year Plan and the programme completed in the fifth and the sixth Plans.

There is very little literature on educational subjects in the modern Indian languages. This prevents the teachers, who do not know English, from improving their professional competence. Steps have, therefore, to be taken to produce this literature in all

the modern Indian languages as soon as possible. The best talent in the nation should be harnessed for writing books on different aspects of educational problems and these should then be published in all the Indian languages. A fairly large programme to this end will have to be taken up in the fourth Plan and developed extensively through the National Council of Educational Research and Training at the Centre and the Institutes of Education in the States.

A teacher is always a learner in the first instance. We have already referred to the programmes of in-service training and production of educational literature which would have to be developed to stimulate and keep up his learning. In addition, steps would have to be taken to provide facilities and incentives to teachers to improve their subject knowledge and professional competence continuously. The provision of correspondence courses, grant of study leave, grant of increments for attaining higher levels of competence, etc., will have to be made. Concrete proposals for the implementation of these programmes would have to be devised in the fourth Plan.

The organisations of teachers are not functioning very satisfactorily at present. They mainly concentrate on the economic aspect of the profession, namely, improvement in remuneration and service conditions. While this is legitimate, it is also desirable that these associations should be induced and assisted to organise programmes for improving the professional competence of teachers. All improvement is self-improvement, and the best incentives for professional improvement are provided when these programmes are organised by or through teachers' associations.

Educational Administrators. With regard to educational administrators the first problem is that of increasing the strength—and this has been referred to earlier. The other main problem to be tackled is that of training—pre-service and in-service.

Courses in educational administration are now provided, as a part of the M. Ed. degree course, in a number of universities. But there are two major problems. The content of these courses needs improvement. Educational administration cannot be separated from general administration and personnel management; but adequate provision for these courses is hardly made at present. There is also no adequate provision for practi-

cal training. The quality of training also leaves a good deal to be desired, especially because the staff does not often have practical experience of educational administration. Devising more meaningful and intensive courses of pre-service training for educational administrators are, therefore, very urgently needed.

Even more important is the problem of in-service training of educational administrators. There is hardly any provision for this at present. A beginning is proposed to be made with the State Institutes of Education. These would have to be developed fully to perform this difficult task in the fourth Plan.

There is hardly any research conducted at present in problems of educational administration. Unsatisfactory as our planning is, its implementation is even more defective. The improvement of administrative practices is, therefore, very essential. In this connection, the experience of U. S. A. would be of great value to us. Since there were 48 States in U. S. A., each with its own form of educational administration, the first step taken was to make comparative studies of administrative practices in the different States. These studies naturally led to a discussion of their similarities and dissimilarities and their advantages and disadvantages. Where necessary, detailed studies were also undertaken to examine the strength and weakness of a given practice and to ascertain the manner in which it could be improved. It is out of such discussions and researches that the science of educational administration was gradually built up. A similar development should and can be made to take place in India also.

Finance. In the first Plan, the total outlay on general education was Rs. 1,330 million. It increased to Rs. 2,080 million in the second Plan and to Rs. 4,180 million in the third Plan. It must be pointed out, however, that the proportion of the outlay on general education to total outlay on all sectors has remained fairly constant, at about 6-7 per cent, in all the three Plans and that the larger amounts provided are merely the result of an increase in the size of the Plan as a whole. Moreover, even at the end of the second Plan, we were spending only about 2.3 per cent of our national income on education. This may increase to about 3 per cent at the most by the end of the third Plan.

Two changes are needed in the policies pursued in the first three Plans. The first is to accord a high priority to educational

development which would imply an allocation of more than 7 per cent in the total Plan. The second is to make a definite attempt to increase the total expenditure on education. Japan, it may be pointed out, spends about 6 per cent of its national income on education. U. S. A. and U. K. spend about 4 to 5 per cent. UNESCO has suggested that the developing countries should increase their expenditure on education to at least 4 per cent of their national income as early as possible and that they should increase it to about 6 per cent in a phased programme spread over 10-15 years. In so far as India is concerned, we should make an attempt to increase our educational expenditure to at least 4 per cent of the national income by the end of the fourth Plan. In a further period of ten years, it may be increased to about 6 per cent.

Two other important problems have to be faced in the financing of education. The first is the problem of priorities. In the first three Plans, we have tried to do something of everything and spread the available resources very thinly over a large area. We should seriously examine whether this policy should be continued. It might be better, in the fourth and subsequent Plans, to highlight a few programmes of the utmost significance and to develop them fully, leaving the others to private and community enterprise of the people themselves. Unfortunately, very little thinking has been done in India so far on this problem of priorities.

The second problem is that of supplementing the public support for education. This may be done in several different ways as indicated below:

(1) The local communities, through powers of increasing local taxation on land and buildings, can make a much larger contribution to the development of elementary education than they do at present. Any increase in the land taxes at the State level has become politically inconvenient and impossible. Probably, these sources could be exploited better at the local level, if the additional resources could be earmarked for local benefits such as those in the field of elementary education.

(2) We should develop a *school improvement programme* on the lines of the Madras State. Here, an intensive effort is made to take the elementary schools closer to the people and to seek assistance from the public for such programmes as construction of buildings, provision of equipment and ancillary services like

school meals. So far, Madras has collected about Rs. 550 million through private contributions for the improvement of elementary education. Programmes of this type should be organised in all parts of the country in the fourth Plan; and the preparatory work for them should be done in the remaining two years of the third Plan.

(3) At the secondary and collegiate stages, we should seriously examine the question of increasing fees. We should have an adequate provision of free studentships and scholarships for the gifted children. But it is not these gifted children that are swelling the secondary schools and colleges at present. While we cannot stop the rush of mediocre or even less than mediocre children in secondary schools and colleges, there is hardly any point in spending hard-earned public funds on their education. We, should, therefore, make them pay for their secondary and higher education, if they desire to have it, through a fairly substantial raising of fees.

(4) At the university stage, we should have a scheme of loan scholarships only. The university students would start earning in three or four years and there is no reason why they should not get a loan scholarship and pay for their own higher education.

This proposal needs some elaboration. In this context, it is suggested that we should establish a National Scholarships Corporation of India on the lines of the LIC Corporation. Every student, who gets more than a prescribed percentage of marks in the examination of the secondary school (or in his B. A. or M. A. examination) should be entitled to get a loan scholarship for higher studies. The amount of the scholarship should be adequate to meet his expenses. This loan should be repaid by him in 15 yearly instalments which would begin one year after he gets employment and starts earning, and there should be a statutory provision for collection of instalments, through deduction of his salary, on the lines of the Income Tax Act. The amount of repayment should be proportionate to his income. In other words, those who get less than a certain income (say, Rs. 150) would not repay it at all. Others would repay it at a certain percentage of their monthly salary; the rate of repaying, rising with an increase in salary. No student, however, should be required to pay more than twice the amount that he has borrowed. On actuarial basis, it may be possible to decide the

contribution of each person for the repayment of this loan on the basis of his annual or monthly earnings after employment. In short, what is proposed here is an inverted educational insurance policy. A prudent father nowadays takes out an educational insurance policy for his child as soon as he is born. He pays the prescribed premia for 15 years and finds that he has, at his disposal, a sum which would enable him to give a college education to his child as soon as he attains the age of 16. What is proposed here is exactly the same. But instead of making the parent take the educational insurance policy, it is suggested that the student himself should be made responsible to take it out in an inverted fashion, that is to say, the payments of the policy should be made in the first three to six years and the premia for it should be recovered in the succeeding 15 years.

It is suggested that, right from now, serious thinking should be undertaken on two lines: (1) raising of the maximum resources possible in the public sector by according a higher priority to education than it has received in the first three Plans : and (2) devising ways and means to supplement the public sector resources through contributions of local bodies, local communities and the parents. It is only this combined approach that would help us to go the longest way.

Centre-State Relationship : If all this large-scale and qualitative development of education is to be attempted in the next three Plans, two fundamental issues arise. The first refers to the relationship between the Centre and the States. Under the Constitutional provisions as they stand at present, education is essentially a responsibility of the State, and the Centre has a very limited role to play. In actual practice, however, the Centre has gone much beyond its Constitutional role and a working partnership has been evolved between the Centre and the States in the last three Plans. The present position is, however, extremely anamolous. In the first place, it does not give adequate initiative and authority to the Centre. Secondly, the State Governments are in a very unfavourable position to take a long-term view of educational development because they are subject to immediate pressures from several quarters. It would, therefore, be essential to review the Centre-State relationship in education and to make education a concurrent subject.

The second issue relates to Central grant-in-aid. At present, the Central sector in education is extremely small. The Cen-

trally sponsored sector (*i.e.*, the sector where funds are provided by the Centre but implementation is done by the States in accordance with a commonly evolved policy) was fairly large till the end of the second Plan. But it has now been reduced to the minimum in the third Plan and experience has shown that this has been a very unfortunate decision. The State sector is the largest and is assisted by the Centre to a substantial extent. But owing to the weakness in the Constitutional position, the Centre does not even come to know how its grants are being actually utilised in practice until it is too late and it is also totally helpless to take any remedial measures even in cases where a misuse or a misdirection has come to its notice. Moreover, the Central grants are now given for 'developmental' expenditure only and the entire committed expenditure is the responsibility of the States. This system is defective to a very large extent and, if educational development is to be stepped up, steps will have to be taken to provide Central grants for educational expenditure as a whole—both committed and developmental. Under the present conditions, the expanding and elastic resources are mostly vested in the Centre. Education, which is a State responsibility, cannot make any headway unless ever-increasing and large financial allocations are given. It follows, therefore, that a long-term educational development of the type contemplated here is possible only if the system of grant-in-aid from the Centre to the States is completely recast and the Central and the Centrally-sponsored sectors in education are substantially expanded.